

THE

10th ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED AT NEW YORK MAY 7, 1850,

WITH

The Addresses and Resolutions.

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WILLIAM HARNED, OFFICE AGENT, 61 JOHN STREET.

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ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Tenth Annual Meeting of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on Tuesday, May 7th, 1850, at 3 o'clock, P.M. In the absence of the President, the chair was occupied by Vice-President Hon. WILLIAM JAY.

Prayer was offered by Rev. LEWIS WOODSON, of Pittsburgh, Penn.

The Chairman then delivered the following address :

GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY :—In the present fierce competition of Northern politicians for Southern votes, and Northern traders for Southern custom, we have witnessed many rich and precious sacrifices, basely and ignominiously offered on the altar of human bondage. One of the most remarkable incidents in this competition is the pledge given by the Senator from Massachusetts to vote for new facilities in catching and restoring to their prison-house, such of his innocent fellow-men and fellow-countrymen as had, through the providence of God, escaped from it.

Before I examine the details of the bill which is to be honored with the support of Daniel Webster, allow me to inquire whence Congress derives the power to legislate on the subject.

The power of the Federal Government is limited by the explicit declaration, "The powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Hence, if Congress possess the power to fine and imprison us for not hunting a fugitive slave, or for concealing him from his hunters, such power is delegated in the Constitution. Now what are the terms in which this power is delegated? Only the following: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." Second Section, Article IV. Not another syllable in reference to fugitive slaves is to be found in the Constitution. If these few lines delegated Congress the power to fine and imprison me for not joining in a slave-hunt, equally does it delegate the power to hang every individual in this room guilty of the same crime. Let us

analyze this delegation of power. First, we are told in substance, that a fugitive slave shall not be emancipated by the laws of the State into which he flees. In this declaration I find a restriction on the power of the States, but no grant of power to Congress. Next we are told he shall *be delivered up*. Where is he to be delivered up? Of course, in the State to which he has fled, and of the benefit of whose anti-slavery laws he is deprived. And does this injunction to deliver up, rest upon Congress? Is the fugitive in their possession? The delivery being enjoined by the Constitution, must be a formal legal delivery, made by authority; and this is evident from the condition of the delivery. To whom is the delivery to be made? To any claimant? No; but to the one to whom the fugitive owes service by the laws of the State from which he fled. Of course, there must be a judicial investigation, and the delivery must be in consequence of a judgment rendered. Now here is power to be exercised, and duty to be performed by some agency. What agency? In the whole clause there is not an allusion to the Federal Government, no delegation of power to Congress, no duty imposed on Congress. We have seen that power, not delegated to Congress, and not prohibited to the States, is reserved by the Constitution to the States. Here is power to be exercised, but it is not given to Congress; it is not prohibited to the States, therefore it is reserved to the States. The STATES, then, are required by the Constitution to cause fugitive slaves to be delivered up to their owners, but the mode of doing this is very properly left to the authority of each State.

In this same article another delivery is enjoined, viz.: "A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice or be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, *be delivered up*, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime." Thus the fugitive slave and the fugitive felon is each to be delivered up. The language being identical, the power to deliver up must also be the same. Now mark how the expounders of the Constitution are governed in their construction of it by "the tincture of a skin!" There has never been a question that the power to surrender felons is given to the States alone. These felons are *white* rascals, and are delivered up by the Governor of a State on full documentary evidence that they have been legally charged with crime, that is, indicted by a grand jury. But the fugitive slave is an innocent and oppressed *black* man, and the Supreme Court have virtually decided, in the case of Prigg, that the words "shall be delivered up" mean "may be seized by the master and carried off by force, without legal process, without proof of title, and without the knowledge or consent of the State authorities." They have moreover decided that these same words convey power to Congress to pass laws to assist the master in catching his slave, and a prohibition to the States to pass similar laws!

This decision has practically proved inconvenient to the slave-catcher by depriving him of the aid formerly granted by State laws and State officers; hence the new law to be supported by Mr. WEBSTER.

Let us now listen to some important confessions from Mr. Mason, who introduced the bill, and from Mr. Webster, who is to vote for it.

Says Mr. Mason, "In my reading of these clauses of the Constitution for extradition of fugitives of both classes, I advance the confident opinion that it devolves upon the STATES the duty of providing by law, both for their capture and delivery—a duty, I admit, as civilians term it, of imperfect obligation, but although of imperfect obligation in the technicality of law, a duty of higher obligation, in fact, than if it could be enforced by legal sanction." So Mr. Mason understands the Constitution as imposing upon the States the obligation to surrender both fugitive felons and fugitive slaves. And the States themselves so understood and performed the obligation, till the Supreme Court told them it was none of their business. Mr. Webster is as frank as Mr. Mason. "I have always thought that the Constitution addressed itself to the Legislatures of the States, or to the States themselves. It says those persons escaping into other States shall be delivered up, and I confess I have always been of opinion that that was an injunction upon the States themselves. It is said that a person escaping into another State, and becoming, therefore, within the jurisdiction of that State, shall be delivered up. It seems to me that the plain import of the passage is, that the State itself, in obedience to the injunction of the Constitution, shall cause him to be delivered up. This is my judgment, and I have always entertained it, and I entertain it now." In confirmation of this judgment, Mr. Webster might have remarked that in this same 4th Art. still another obligation is imposed upon the States, viz.: "Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other State." Now does this injunction convey a grant of power to Congress to dictate to our Courts how such acts shall be verified? Most certainly not, and *therefore* it is added, "And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be formed, and the effect thereof." But with regard to the two other obligations imposed on the States in this Article, the delivery of fugitive felons and slaves, no power of any sort or kind is delegated to Congress. How, then, can Messrs. Mason and Webster assume power which they acknowledge is not given by the Constitution? Because the decision of the Supreme Court sets aside their private judgments, and that decision has become thus far the Constitution. But this new Constitution gives the slaveholder a right to seize and carry away his slave without any judicial inquiry. What right, then, has Congress, as in the present bill, to rob the slaveholder of his constitutional right, and require him to obtain the certificate of a postmaster or other Federal officer? To this question I have seen no reply.

For my own part, I regard the bill before the Senate as a most gross usurpation of power by Congress; a plain, palpable violation of the Constitution, an outrage on the religious and benevolent sensibilities of the community, and a disgrace to our National character.

Do I express myself too strongly? Let us see what this bill is. First, listen to the pledge of Mr. Webster: "My friend at the head of the Judiciary Committee has a bill upon that subject now before the Senate, with some amendments to it which have been offered. I propose to support that bill with all proper authority and provisions in it, to the *fullest extent*." The bill alluded to was brief, and neither fined nor imprisoned any one for not taking an active part in a Slave hunt. On the 28th January, Mr. Mason of Virginia urged its passage; but three days after, no doubt encouraged by Northern indications, he introduced a new and far more stringent bill, technically called an amendment to the first; stating that he had submitted it to the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and conveying the impression that it was approved by him. This, then, is the bill virtually before the Senate, the bill to be supported by the Slaveholders; and we shall now be able to understand Mr. Webster's significant "to the fullest extent—to the fullest extent."

By this bill, the District Courts are to appoint in every County, persons already holding office under the United States, as Commissioners under this act. Of course, for the most part, Postmasters must necessarily be appointed. These Commissioners are to decide on the freedom or bondage of all alleged fugitives brought before them. If the Commissioner decides for freedom he is to be paid five dollars, but if for bondage TEN. This is a novel mode of regulating the compensation of a Judge, and looks like a paltry bribe to a village Postmaster. No reason is given, for doubling the sum. Possibly it may be said the extra five dollars is to pay for a certificate of the judgment. This judgment, which consigns an innocent man to a life of bondage, stripes, and misery, may be founded on affidavit, nor is that of the interested claimant excluded; while care is taken to enact that the testimony of the alleged fugitive shall not be admitted in evidence. No provision is made for furnishing the man whose ALL is at stake with process for summoning witnesses in his behalf, but it is expressly made the duty of the Judge "to hear and determine the case of such claimant in a *summary* manner," and from this summary decision, a decision of such tremendous importance, there is no appeal, and a human being is stripped of every right, and reduced to the condition of a vendible beast of burden, with less ceremony, and with more celerity than one neighbor can recover of another the value of a pig in any Court of Justice. The Constitution of the United States secures a trial by Jury in suits at common law in all cases where the value in controversy exceeds TWENTY DOLLARS, but here, where the matter in controversy is the liberty of an immortal man, and all his hopes of happiness in the life that is, and in that which is to come, no Jury is allowed, but a village Postmaster, with the promise of ten dollars if he decides for the Slaveholder, and of only five if against him, is deemed a sufficient tribunal for the protection of a human being, to whom the Creator has been pleased to give dark colored skin.

The County Commissioners may appoint any number of Agents to execute their warrants. Any of these Agents or Commissioners are

authorized, in the words of the bill, "to summon and call to their aid the bystanders, or *posse comitatus* of the proper County, when necessary to insure a faithful observance of the clause of the Constitution referred to, in conformity with the provisions of this Act; and all good citizens are hereby commanded to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law, whenever their services may be required as aforesaid for that purpose." And so we are to have in every County a parcel of low miscreants, not appointed by the People, not commissioned by the President and Senate, but created by the District Courts, and appointed at pleasure by some dough-faced Postmaster; and each of these miscreants is invested with the power of a High Sheriff, to call out the *posse comitatus* and command the multitude to follow on the track of a poor negro. And the power to exact all this is delegated to Congress by the Constitution! Surely people must be given up to strong delusion to believe such a lie.

It is not enough that we stand mute and passive spectators of a horrible outrage, but we must when required by the Commissioner, or any of his deputies, become active participators in the atrocious crime of wresting from an innocent man his new-born liberty and consigning him again to all the atrocities of southern bondage. But suppose we refuse obedience to the vile tool who summons us? Why, pains and penalties await us. Listen once more. Whoever shall "aid, abet or assist such person so owing service or labor as aforesaid, directly or indirectly to escape from such claimant, his agent or attorney, or other person or persons legally authorized as aforesaid, or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor as aforesaid, shall for either of said offenses be subject to a fine not exceeding \$500, and imprisonment not exceeding six months by indictment, &c., and shall moreover forfeit and pay by way of civil damages to the party injured by such illegal conduct, the sum of \$1,000."

Such is this bill of abominations. Think not it is too atrocious to be ever enacted. The attempt to revive Slave hunts in our very midst was at first a Southern bravado, and was treated with contempt. Said Mr. Butler, 24th Jan. last, "this bill was reported to the Senate more than two years ago. I repeatedly tried to have it taken up, and invariably failed." But this bill is no longer a despised bravado. Its passage is now a matter of cool New-England calculation. The cotton interest of Massachusetts calls for it, and the gentry of Boston are cheering on their Senator in his strange and reckless course.

This bill is now emphatically Mr. Webster's thunder, and he cannot let it sleep. But rival politicians will not leave him in the exclusive possession of it; they will either filch it from him, as he complains they did the Proviso, before he had discovered its worthlessness, or else they will manufacture louder thunder for themselves. The Democrats are not accustomed to be surpassed by the Whigs in servility to the South, or in contempt for the claims of black men to justice and humanity. It is barely possible the slaveholders may think it impossible to push matters to Mr. Webster's "fullest extent," but from

present appearances the time is at hand when the principles and professions of Abolitionists are to be tested, as it were, by a fiery trial. I now ask you, will you obey the injunctions of this wicked law? Will you take any part or lot in reducing a fellow-being to Slavery—to that very Slavery which for years you have been denouncing as a sin against God and man? Will you in obedience to this law refuse food and lodging and concealment to the wretched but innocent fugitive? These are no trifling questions, for upon the answer you return may depend the spoiling of your goods and the imprisonment of your persons. We have professed, heretofore, to act against Slavery from obedience to the will of God. Our agitation has been avowedly a religious movement. Shall we repudiate all our past professions, or shall we adhere to them and leave the consequences to God? If Slavery be indeed sinful then we incur its guilt by assisting the slave-catcher. Be assured that should you join in a slave hunt you will hear the shrieks of the victim on your dying pillow; and they will bear witness against you at the judgment seat.

It seems to be the property of Slavery to paralyze the moral sense of its Northern supporters, on all subjects connected with it. Hence the denunciation of our pro-slavery presses against those who avow that there is a POWER ABOVE THE CONSTITUTION. To deny the existence of such a power, appears to me rank Atheism, a denial that the Lord is God, the high and mighty Ruler of the universe. No believer in the Bible can for a moment doubt the truth of the declaration by an inspired Apostle, that we ought to obey God, rather than man. We may indeed mistake the divine commands, but we are bound, at the peril of our souls, to obey what we truly believe to be such, however contradictory they may be to the laws of the land. We are not to resist the powers that be; on the contrary we are to submit to legal authority, and when we cannot conscientiously obey, we are to make no forcible opposition to the penalties incurred by our disobedience. Such is the doctrine of the Bible, and such has ever been the practice of Saints and Martyrs in every age of the Church. Daniel, although next to his Monarch in power and authority, openly, nay contemptuously, set at naught the constitutional but wicked decree of the Persian King, and unresistingly descended into the lion's den. The Apostles openly violated the legal commands of the Jewish rulers not to preach in the name of Jesus, and a miracle testified the Divine approbation of their disobedience, and multitudes of Christian Martyrs went joyfully to the stake and the scaffold, rather than obey the legal but sinful edicts of the Roman Emperors.

But we are told, with a silly air of triumph, that those who have sworn to support the Constitution cannot, without perjury, acknowledge a power above the Constitution. The oath alluded to is equivalent to that of allegiance, exacted by Monarchs from their subjects. The oath implies an acknowledgment of the validity of the Government acting in accordance with the Constitution, and an obligation to maintain and support that Government by refraining from all attempts to subvert it. But it imposes no obligation to obey any and every law constitutionally enacted, however wicked and detestable it may be.

Such an oath of obedience would be rebellion against the Government of Jehovah.

The bill I have been considering is an experiment how far the religious sentiment of the North can be terrified into subserviency to the slaveholders, and thus put an end to the perpetual Anti-Slavery agitation, so troublesome to politicians, so continually thwarting their calculations and disappointing their expectations of power and office. Thus far the indications given by the religious press, wholly free as it is from political influence, and belonging to Christians of various creeds, are not flattering to the success of the experiment. Says one of these religious newspapers, "It is not because we desire a revolution, but because we dread and shrink from the possibility of such a thing, that we deprecate an act of legislation which, stirring up against it the moral sentiment of thousands and hundreds of thousands, must lessen the respect for law in large classes of intelligent and conscientious men, who are usually, above all others, upholders of the law."

Says the organ of another denomination, "If Mr. Webster's influence in Congress should lead to new federal laws, as he intimates, imposing upon the North this ignominious iniquity, the curses of all his northern fellow-citizens will follow him through life, and the curses of their children will fall upon his grave." The paper of a third denomination says, "We hold it to be a fixed fact, that men in the free States will not suffer themselves to be employed in slave-catching, come the demand whence it may. They feel themselves prohibited by a law which no mortal can set aside with impunity." Another paper, belonging to a fourth denomination, remarks, "They tell us it is not neighborly not to become slave-catchers. We reply by asking who is our neighbor? Is our neighbor anything short of man—immortal man, created in the image of God? The Bible-enlightened conscience of all the North says, we cannot do it. No human power can alter this determination." Still a fifth religious organ exclaims, "Does Mr. Webster believe that he is the exponent of Massachusetts or of New-England in this monstrous inhumanity? Pass enactments enough to fill all the archives of the Senate, and your slave-catcher shall not budge an inch faster or farther than he now does in the North. Every village will spurn him, every yeoman along the valleys will run the slave, and trip the shameless hunter. Bread and shelter, protection and direction will be the slave's portion north of Mason and Dixon's line." Says the esteemed pastor of one of our large city congregations, "Not even the Constitution shall make me unjust. If my patriotic sires confederated in my behalf that I should maintain that instrument, so I will, to the utmost boundary of right. But who, with the power which even God denies to himself, shall by compact foreordain me to the commission of inhumanity and injustice? I disown the act—I repudiate the obligation. Never while I breathe will I help an official miscreant in his base errand of recapturing a fellow-man for bondage."

Such sentiments, and the sources from which they are promulgated, lead us to believe, that in the approaching persecution for conscience sake, Abolitionists will have for fellow-sufferers, very many who have

nethitherto sympathized with them. We may hope that the Christian community at the North, with few exceptions, will bear a united testimony against the atrocious attempt to enforce by penalties an active participation in the guilt of Slavery. Those in our counties who shall accept the appointment of slave-catchers, will indeed be regarded as "official miscreants," and treated accordingly. The first trial that shall occur for the crime of humanity to a fugitive will awaken the attention and sympathies of millions, and the first incarceration for this crime will arouse a feeling of detestation unsurpassed since the judicial atrocities of Jeffries. Every convict will become a hero and a martyr, and will be greeted with the acclamations of thousands. Heretofore the fugitive has been aided in secret, but then men will strive who can most openly do him service, and will then court the honor of prosecution and punishment. In the mean while, trials of another kind will proceed. The discipline of party, the mandates of leaders, the influence of cotton manufactories, will all be borne down by an overwhelming tide of indignation; and the authors and abettors of this new crusade against the rights of conscience and the liberty of man, will be tried and condemned by their peers, and sentenced to perpetual banishment from every post in the gift of the people. Yes, the cause of abolition and humanity has everything to hope from the passage of this bill of abominations, provided the avowed friends of that cause adhere without faltering to the principles they have professed. From the day of its enactment, let them hasten to incur its penalties. While visited with fines and immured in prisons, let them be consoled with the reflection that they are acting in accordance with the Divine will, and that they are kindling a flame throughout the length and breadth of the land, that will illumine the path of our future politicians; will disclose to the eager and indignant gaze of the people, the dark and loathsome recesses of the American prison-house, and cause millions of hearts to glow with unwonted fervor in the cause of civil and religious liberty.

At its conclusion, S. LEWIS, Esq., of Ohio, presented the following resolution:—

Resolved, That it is our solemn conviction, that it would be a heinous sin in us to lend our aid in subjecting any of our fellow-men to the atrocities of American slavery; and we do therefore, before God, pledge ourselves to each other, that we will incur any penalties which unprincipled politicians in Congress may think it expedient to impose upon us, rather than betray a fugitive Slave, or assist in his capture.

Mr. LEWIS said he did not believe there was one man or one woman present who would aid in restoring the fugitive to chains and slavery, and he wished all those who were in favor of the resolution to signify it by rising. The body of the vast

assembly immediately rose.* The Chairman pronounced the resolution adopted.

Letters were communicated from GEORGE W. ALEXANDER, Treasurer, and JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, Hon. S. P. CHASE, U. S. Senate, and J. W. C. Pennington, D.D.

An abstract of the Annual Report was presented by LEWIS TAPPAN, Corresponding Secretary, after which the following Resolutions were read :—

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That our fathers regarded slavery as a social and political evil—a curse bequeathed them from the British government; that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States will always be sufficient evidence that they eschewed the notion of property in man; and that they intended that by the operation of these instruments, slavery should be speedily and forever extinguished.

Resolved, That slavery still exists contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and the intention of its framers, and that its introduction into newly acquired territories would be an act of treason to Liberty, and an outrage upon the memories of our fathers.

Resolved, That in the language of Senator Seward, “there is a higher law than the Constitution;” and in the language of Sir William Blackstone, “no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this;” and that all compromises between Right and Wrong, and all statutes which are repugnant to Humanity and Justice, are NULL and VOID.

Resolved, That slavery being at variance with Republicanism, contrary to the rights of man and a gross invasion of the Divine Law, cannot for one moment or to any extent be rightfully legalized; and that the voice of Humanity and Humanity’s God calls upon every patriot and Christian to labor for its immediate and total overthrow.

Resolved, That while we lament the general reluctance of ecclesiastical bodies, the clergy and benevolent institutions to acknowledge the inherent sinfulness of slaveholding, we rejoice that so many are bearing faithful witness to its turpitude, as a sin *per se*, and by applying the principles of Christianity to the practical duties of life, are endeavoring to banish it from the Church of Christ.

Resolved, That we are cheered with the noble conduct of the Liberty-loving members of Congress, who amid threats of violence and disunion by slavery-propagandists are true to the ordinance of 1787, and the cause of Freedom and Humanity; and that the thanks of this meeting be specially given to the Senators and Representatives

* Here and elsewhere, we have adopted the language of some of the reporters of the press.

who have so eloquently vindicated the Constitution, the friends of the Slave, and the Right of Petition; and who have contended so ably for California, Union, and Freedom, without compromise, and illustrated with so much force Southern aggression, and the comparative effects of Slavery and Freedom.

Resolved, That DANIEL WEBSTER, by his disregard of early professions, his treachery to Humanity and Freedom, and his servility to the Slave power, has forfeited the respect and confidence of his constituents and country: *

“Of all we loved and honored, naught

Save power remains—

A fallen angel's pride of thought

Still strong in chains.

“All else is gone; from those great eyes

The soul has fled;

When faith is lost, when honor dies,

The man is dead!”

Resolved, That we view with astonishment the abetting of the Massachusetts Senator in his apostasy and inhumanity by men eminent in the learned professions, in literature and in the church; and that the CHAIN recently presented to him in this city is a fit emblem of the spirit of those who bestowed and him who received it.

Resolved, That slavery and the slave traffic carried on between the slave States, and at the capital of the United States, the cruelties it inflicts, the heart-strings severed in the separation of families, the fearful blotting out of human intellect, and the ruin to the immortal soul, which are its necessary results, should excite the indignation and enlist the warmest sympathies of the freemen of this country.

Resolved, That the great anti-slavery struggle is not between the Northern and Southern States, but between the 113,000 slaveholders of the South, and the friends of Liberty throughout the country; and that we consider it a highly encouraging sign of the times that anti-slavery sentiments are so rapidly gaining ground in the slave States and in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That sympathizing with the free people of color in the severity of their trials, and rejoicing in every well-advised effort for their elevation, we pledge to them our continued friendship and coöperation.

Resolved, That the illegal imprisonment of colored sailors from the North in Southern ports, the outrages upon Northern citizens traveling at the South on lawful business, the violations of the Post-office, and the many other breaches of the Constitution by the slave power, should be sternly withstood by the competent authorities.

Resolved, That, in common with our colored brethren, we reëcho the declarations of Wilberforce, Macaulay, Buxton, and their associates, that “the professions made by the Colonization Society of promoting the abolition of slavery are altogether delusive.”

* At this period opposition was manifested by some sons of Belial in a corner of the gallery, who, during the subsequent exercises, occasionally disturbed the proceedings, but made no serious difficulty.

Resolved, That we deem it a duty and a privilege, by giving a preference to the productions of freemen, to encourage their labor over that of slaves; and that the establishment of stores for the sale of free labor products, the growing of cotton by free labor, and the efforts made to enlighten the friends of the slave on the subject of abstinence from slave labor products, meet with our cordial approbation.

Resolved, That the testimony of intelligent residents and distinguished travelers affords us satisfactory evidence that the workings of emancipation in the West India Islands have been beneficial, notwithstanding injudicious legislation, the ignorance and folly of prejudiced landholders, the want of agricultural and moral training, and the innumerable effects of the slave system; and that we are more than ever assured that freedom is always a blessing and slavery always a curse.

Resolved, That we rejoice to know that the friends of universal emancipation in other countries are unwearied in their efforts for the abolition of the slave-trade, slave produce monopolies, and slavery, wherever it exists; and that we invite their continued coöperation, while we proffer our own, in labors to remove from the face of the earth one of the direst scourges to humanity.

Resolved, That the thanks of the friends of freedom are due to those conductors of the Press, who manfully and consistently discuss the GREAT QUESTION of the day, advocate the cause of the oppressed, oppose the extension of slavery, and resolve to be MEN rather than partisans and slaves.

Resolved, That we owe it to the memories of our fathers, to ourselves, and to posterity, as well as to the hosts of emigrants fleeing to this country from Europe, to carry out the great doctrines of Liberty, lest our Declaration and Constitution prove an *ignis fatuus* to multitudes who flock to these shores in quest of an asylum of civil and religious liberty.

Resolved, That, confiding in the overruling providence of God, that has summoned us to this conflict, and shielded us while engaged in it, we feel new incentives to continue therein, until "liberty shall be proclaimed throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof."

SAMUEL LEWIS, Esq., of Cincinnati, Ohio, then addressed the meeting in an animated speech, in which, after remarking that he was called up unexpectedly, as the first address had been assigned to Mr. Beecher, and that the Church, faulty as she is, was entitled to a meed of praise, for giving such a man to the cause, he said:—

Why are you all here? What has called together this large and respectable audience? A stranger in this city myself, I see here faces that I am familiar with from other States—from beyond the mountains—from every portion of our common country. What is

the cause of the interest that is expressed on almost every countenance, and cherished in so many hearts? Is it for the slave? It is worthy of your interest that three millions of the people of this country are slaves, that their children are brought up as slaves, that their women are brutified and unsexed. If it were only this, it would be enough—but, sir, it is not all. The cause has reference to a wider field than this. It is not only the cause of the slave, but the cause of this great audience, of every man and every woman, who is conscious of a divine birthright, and who is called to the exercise of freedom and the attainment of goodness. It is the cause of the laborer, who is doomed to toil, and in many instances with an inadequate reward. It is the cause of the widow, who plies her needle for a meager subsistence, stitching her body to her winding sheet with her ceaseless and ill-requited efforts. Nor is this all. Look toward the setting sun, and see the broad and fertile plains of the West, capable of supporting a hundred million of inhabitants, with which they will be covered before our children's children shall have ended their earthly career. It is the cause of Liberty, of Humanity, of the rights of man, from the rising to the setting sun. For when you have once established the principle that it is right to enslave one man, whoever he is, you have sapped the liberties of all. And if any have come here in a state of opposition or indifference on this subject, even this is proof how far slavery has perverted the minds of this whole people. And it is this perversity existing here which especially embarrasses the cause of liberty all over the world.

Mr. L. then considered the question of American Slavery in its relation to the Constitution, showing that not only the man who uses the lash is responsible for its continuance, but he who sustains it by his indirect influence, in any manner. The slaveholders now demand that we of the North shall support it—virtually acknowledging their own inability to do so. They tell you that they cannot sustain it, by their whole course in Congress, and out of it, if California is free—if New Mexico is free—if the District of Columbia is free. Not that they are afraid of Mr. Clay's party and rhetorical flourishes, which he puts forth in the advocacy of Compromise, but they are afraid of the creation of a moral power. This was the dread of Mr. Calhoun, a man who is to be honored for the frankness with which he always spoke his mind, much as we may reprobate his hostility to human freedom. A Virginian member of Congress has expressed the prevailing fear of a just public opinion. "Limit Slavery anywhere," said he, "and its fate is sealed."

We have not now to begin at the A B C of the cause; we have made some progress. We begin to see that it is the free States that hold the power, and bear the responsibility. Give the slave the Bible, and his chains will fly, like Samson's cords. And so they try to divert your mind, and tell you the importance of sending the Bible—where? To Rome! to Japan! everywhere except to the slaves of the South. Slavery, conscious of its weakness, now demands of us new efforts to sustain it. It would have us enact Mr. Mason's abominable bill, which requires us to surrender the unhappy fugitive, who seeks the

protection of our hearths, under the penalty of \$500 fine, or six months' imprisonment. But they cannot prevail. The arm of the true lover of freedom would sooner be torn from its socket than raised against the oppressed who looks up to us for relief. [Loud applause.] Congress may as well know it first as last, that they may pass laws, and heap them as high as the clouds, and we here, with the energy that liberty and truth inspires, will blow them away like the chaff of the threshing-floor. One of your Senators, whose name I would teach my children to speak with reverence after I am in my grave—has declared his purpose to obey the law of God, and for this the slaveholder has lifted his brow of scorn upon him, and threatened not only him but all his friends, and all who give him their countenance, or are recommended by him, with political annihilation, by excluding them from every office under the government. He then enlarged on the gross injustice to California, whose new-born Constitution was such a master-piece of legislation, in coupling her claims to admission with questions intended for the promotion of Slavery. Dwelling in terms of indignant severity on the recent course of Daniel Webster, Mr. L. quoted the remark of John Randolph, who said, "We have used you, we will use you, and then nail you as a bad coin to the counter," and remarked that this man, once so exalted, will see the day when there will be none so poor to do him reverence.

But what then? Shall we despond, and give it up, and say there is no hope of abolishing slavery, and that our work for twenty years is all lost? Shall we, because we are circumvented and overpowered through the corruption and cowardice of our representatives, shall we abandon the cause? I tell you we are not discouraged or put down. They think to establish peace on the subject of slavery by their compromises, when the Word of God says "there is no peace for the wicked." There can be no peace while the whole territory of the United States is made a hunting-ground for the slaveholder. If they would have peace, let them do justice. As long as I live, said he, (and I may live some time in spite of those who wish me gone,) there shall be no peace on this question of slavery, while there is a slave on the soil of my country. And this is the sentiment of thousands and scores of thousands of faithful hearts all over the free States. It is no new thing to us to encounter opposition; but what has opposition availed? In very many cases we have already seen the fiercest opponents have become the most zealous supporters of the cause. Those misguided young men in the gallery, who have foolishly and vainly sought to interrupt us, will yet make, we hope, first-rate Abolitionists, as soon as they come to realize the value of their own manhood, and the obligations of justice and humanity.

Mr. L. concluded with the fervent expression of his determination to give the enemies of Freedom no peace, and not to stay his hand in this great battle of human rights, until he saw the triumphant establishment of Liberty, Justice, and Christianity in the world. His remarks were received with frequent cheers from the large majority of the audience.

REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER addressed the meeting substantially as follows :

There was a time when men demanded of us by what right we of the North meddled with the subject of slavery. That question is now scarcely uttered. Every fiber of our nation feels and confesses the influence of a system, which, though existing in form in one section only, exists by its perverting influence, in every part of the nation.

Moreover, we are soon to be no longer choosers—we are to be *made* to meddle with it. If the bill, now pending in Congress, becomes a law, pains and penalties will follow him who refuses to meddle with slaves in the condition of fugitives.

My desire is not to contribute a speech, merely for the sake of enlivening this Anniversary and filling up an hour; it is the hope of doing good that inspires me.

Let us first ask for the true point of view from which slavery must be examined, and from that stand-point examine it. *A Christian nation ought to judge every question from the Christian stand-point.*

What gives a nation the right to call itself Christian? Not the perfect embodiment of Christianity in all its institutions and measures, for in that case none could be called Christians. This is impossible except as a work of time, just as the flowers and fruits of the earth require gradual growth. The fruits of Christianity in like manner are not possible, except in succession. *It is the recognition of the truths of Christianity, as the rule of belief and of conduct.* In this sense England is a Christian nation. The United States are a Christian nation. With all their uncorrected evils, and unchristian practices, both nations profess to adopt and do adopt, substantially, the principles of Christianity as authoritative guides and adjudicators of all questions. It is not the number of churches or of ministers; it is not religious libraries or religious societies, for the geographical distribution of religion, that constitutes progress in religion; but the degree to which men and the whole community consent to apply the rules of Christianity to the private conduct of men, to the processes of business, and to the adjustment of political questions. Religion declines, though its implements multiply—its churches, its books, its ministers—when questions of life are less and less settled upon the rules of Christ. It grows in proportion as they are so settled. We have a right, therefore, as members of a Christian nation, to demand, and by all means in our power, to secure to every interest and to every life-question, an examination and a settlement upon Christian rules. The greater the question, the wider its range and results, the more indispensable is such a measurer of it. Now, sir, this is all I ask for that question of questions, slavery.

There are many sides from which it may be examined. It is an economical question. It may therefore be examined as a simple question of labor, of commerce, of industrial economy. It has a political side. It enters largely into the web of our much entangled political system. It has also a social side. The effects of compulsory labor on a race; the results of juxtaposition of superior and

inferior races; the results of the constant intermingling of two races that are very different. In short, the psychological and physiological questions may be fitly examined. But when these are done, the question is scarcely touched. If only this is done, nothing is done. For only then do we at once view, and in their proper relation, the whole schedule of facts, when we examine slavery from the Christian point of view. This I purpose doing. We must, therefore, in some way come to the very root, the characteristic genius of the system. All slavery is not alike. We must therefore find out which of the many kinds of slavery exist in America.

There are two *genera* of slavery, distinctively marked and contrasted. One genus holds the slave to be a man, but limits his privileges, assigns his duties, and consists, simply, in putting him upon the lower degrees of the scale of the race. This slavery, under all its modifications, professes to have regard to the rights and comforts of the slave, as well as to those of his master.

The other genus, having but one species in it—American Slavery, holds the slave not to be a man, not to be a human being, but simply a *thing*. One genus of slavery then consists in sinking a human creature to the lowest conditions of society; the other sinks him lower yet, below society, below the line of manhood, to the level of animals, or inanimate property.

Take notice—this is not a constructive result. I do not take the slaveholder's reasoning and drive him by logical pressure to this ground. It is the ground taken of their own accord; we *find* them on it. It is the declaration of the constitutions of slave States; it is the language of legislators, it is the undisputed and undivided decision of courts. The Constitution of South Carolina declares:

“Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, reputed and adjudged in law to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners, and possessors, and their executors and administrators, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatever.”—*Law of South Carolina*.

The Courts of South Carolina give no doubtful interpretation of its intent:

“The condition of slaves in this country is analagous to that of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and not that of the feudal times. They are generally considered not as *persons*, but as *things*. They can be sold or transferred as *goods* or personal estate; they are held to be *pro nullis, pro mortuis*. By the civil law, slaves could not take property by descent or purchase; and I apprehend this to be the law of this country.”—*Dess. Rep. IV.*, 266. *South Carolina*.

The Constitution of Louisiana declares:

“A slave is one who is in the power of his master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labor. He can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what belongs to his master.”—*Civil Code of Louisiana*.

The Courts of Kentucky have decided :

"He who is the absolute owner of a *THING*, owns all its faculties for profits or increase, as well as the thing itself. This is every day's practice ; and it is held that a man may grant the wool of a flock of sheep for years."—*Little's Rep. III, 275. Kentucky, 1823.*

Without ingenuity, not by adroit reasoning, but by the precise definitions of the constitutions of States, and by the most careful and solemn adjudication of courts, American Slavery has its radical element in this, that it reduces a race of men to an artificial condition in which they are held, esteemed, governed, and in all respects treated as if they were not human, but animal ; not living accountable creatures, *but things*. It is the law of treating men as if they were animals, and not men. A slave is a creature for work. Everything in him which contributes to that is valuable, and whatever does not subserve that is rubbish, is taken for granted not to exist. The North never had such a system of slavery. There was an involuntary, and ignoble *apprenticeship for life*, but never a slavery whose marrow-principle was that a slave is not a human being, but is to be held and treated as if he were a *thing*.

In attempting to maintain a practical system of slavery upon this principle, we shall see at once, that every step must be repressive. A slave being a thing by law, but a man by creation, there will be a double struggle constantly going on—the slave to act according to the instincts of his creation, and his owner to baffle those instincts, repress their development and to hold him where the law puts him, in the condition of a thing.

Whatever gives to the slave an independent intellect, is violating slave law,—for he is by law not to be a *thinker*. It must be so. Reason and reasoning are always destructive to the nature of *things*, and characteristic of *men*. There will be in the slave a perpetual tendency to resurrection from his legal condition to his natural state. And violence must maintain ignorance or it cannot long maintain slavery. The practical slavery which fills up the theory of slave law must ordain ignorance, must make intelligence penal, since it certainly is treasonable to slavery ; must disregard the moral nature, and divorce the slave from his conscience, must deny his social constitution, for a *thing* cannot love, and be loved ; a slave is in fact a propagator, but not a husband or wife ; he engenders his own likeness, but has no children ; his offspring have no father nor mother, they are not brothers nor sisters. All those words which are the stars of civilized and Christian life among men, are a mockery and misery among human *things*.

This is what *ought to be*, according to the theory of slave law. It is what actually exists *as a fact*, in slave States. The worst slave masters are, nevertheless, the most nearly in agreement with slave law. The kind and heedful owner who christianly instructs his slaves, is a man who in defiance of the law of the land, has, *in fact*, changed the nature of their slavery, and put them on a higher platform and into the other *genus* of slavery !

But, fleshly woundings, unmerciful chastisements aside, the slave is treated in the South, upon the whole, as the law allows. The master lends him, sells him, mortgages him, works him, without a single end in view except his own private good. The slave woman has no right and no fact of chastity; she is held to be, and she is, the lawful prey of universal lust. Though she be a Christian, a member of the church, a daily suppliant of forgiveness, a feeble and struggling disciple striving to follow Christ, she cannot redeem her person from her master's desire, nor from the power of others. She has no redress. There is no court for slaves! Now, I declare the system to be diametrically opposed to nature. Nature ordains an intellect—slavery legislates it down. Nature ordains moral emotions—slavery erases them. Nature ordains social affections—slavery decrees them extinct. God declares, let them be men! Slavery says let them be things. It is radically subversive of nature. There is no escape from this, but by denying the slave to be a human being. Those who have never met in public debate such *things* as Douglas, Ward, and Bibb, will be more likely to hold this doctrine than those who have been driven by them from the arena of debate like chaff from a summer's threshing-floor. They carry a flail for fools that many and many a man would be glad to borrow!

But viewed from the stand-point of *Christianity*, what can be said of a system, whose essence it is to undo and deteriorate, and finally annihilate men, as men, and pronounce them and treat them as things? The gospel teaches that every man is a free accountable being, ordained with rights and duties. Slavery declares all this to be a lie in respect to that class of men called slaves. The one begins with taking for granted the manhood of men and the other with the initial principle that they are not men. Hence the moment a man attempts to preach to a slave he is obliged to deny the fundamental idea of slave law. The very act of preaching to a slave implies a belief that he is a human being, while slave law is founded on the fact that he is not. The direct effect of receiving the gospel will be to make him a bad slave. It will make him intelligent; it will awaken his sense of justice; it will deny that master is highest authority, and put God over master; it will awaken emotions, which will crave for gratifications which slavery denies; it will give him a susceptibility to his wrongs and degradation which will make him restless, discontented and watchful for freedom. Wherefore, it is not only the right of the slaveholder—but I hold it to be his necessity if he means to keep his slaves—not to fall for grace, but stick to the sovereign idea of slavery, that a slave is a thing and not a man. Every step toward Christianity is a step away from slavery. And if I were a slaveholder, I would rather give that magazine of incendiary publications, the Bible Society, a \$1,000 a year to keep away their Bibles than one cent to send them. If surrounded by heathenism, such a system might last; but if surrounded by Christianity, it is so repugnant to it that it will force it to correct itself. But it is said that, in fact, religion is given to the slave, and that religion makes him a better slave. I deny both facts. I deny that religion can be given to a slave any more than it

can to a horse or an oaken plank. Men deceive themselves. They do not recognize what the facts really are. If a master will be false to the ideas of slave law, if he will let his slave up from below on to the platform of manhood; if then he will treat him as if he were *not* a thing, but a man; if he will as a man teach him his duty to God and to his fellow-man, the now half-emancipated slave, or rather the now life-apprentice may be a better creature. But by just so much as he is better, he is by just so much less a slave! It is manifestly impossible to bring the gospel to *the* slave of the American slave law; and it is not until that radical doctrine on which courts constantly proceed, is denied and disregarded that you can make a slave the recipient of light or goodness. The South, having a system which stands at war with God, as revealed in Nature, and in Revelation, has her bosom filled with more inconsistencies and practical self-nullifications, than would suffice to stuff a globe!

It is this repugnance of slavery to nature, to religion, and to all human law founded upon them, that gives rise to the intense and growing agitations of our day. Three million men feeling the force of nature, and not wholly unreachd by the inspiration of the Gospel, are not an element of restlessness and fermentation to be lightly passed over. The throes of a race, the reactions of millions of men, are enough to raise a fever in any body politic. Men ask us, why we will agitate the community? It reminds us of the scene in the Old Testament, when that tyrant Ahab, whose misrule had prostrated Israel, met Elijah with this salutation, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" and was nobly answered, "I have not troubled Israel; but thou and thy father's house." This outrageous devil has been ramping up and down the land, tearing at the vitals of our political system, striking at the foundation of humanity, and mocking and deriding the very elements of Christianity; and when we make convulsive efforts to throw off the demon, some living epistle, some *Journal of Commerce* inveighs against us as troublers and agitators. No, no. God is agitating. Nature is agitating. Our constitution is struggling—the civilization of America is struggling—Christianity, in every form of it, is struggling against the monster. *Slavery is the agitator.* Nor will the waves ever be still while this submerged volcano can shake our foundations, and roll the very ocean by its eruptions. And it is only by the most exquisite effrontery that our political or commercial papers, dead to nature, to religion, and to common humanity, impertinently turn from the huge abyss of the misdemeanors of Slavery, from her Golgotha, and stenchful valley of Hinnom, to reproach us for the agitations which rise hot from the seething caldron of Slavery, boiling with infernal fires!

We have seen what Slavery is, what the judgment of Christianity must be of it; and we are, from this point of view, prepared to look upon some of the questions which, as citizens, we are called upon to decide. I declare generally, that the sympathies of every man who is true to Christianity or to humanity, or to our American ideas of civil liberty, ought on every question to be found on the side of emancipation—for *the slave* and not for the *slaveholder*. A man is responsible for his sympathies.

From this stand-point we can understand what is meant by returning fugitive slaves. It is not returning persons held to labor, to that labor again. It is putting a man back under a system that takes away from him every attribute of manhood. He has escaped. He is a man now. You are to destroy that manhood. The wretch has got out of the surge, and is creeping up the land. You are to push him back. The victim has escaped from a burning house. You stand to thrust him back. Can a man be a Christian and knowingly bring a man into a system where he must be a heathen, must be an ignorant wretch, must be an animal, where the laws ordain him to be a *thing*? In this matter a man's first generous impulses and his highest duty coincide.

This brings us to the question of our duty to the Constitution. I say that the Constitution was not framed, accepted, and ordained with the intent that Slavery and its incidents were to continue through all time as an elementary part of our political system. There is therefore a perversion of the true intent of the Constitution. But waiving that, I affirm the doctrine of the New Testament that when the laws of God and the laws of man conflict, the highest allegiance must govern. If there was ever a case, if there can be a case made out, this is one. I regard the case of Peter and the Apostles as not near so strong a one, for this involves all that theirs did, and much besides. Officers, when brought to the trial, should resign. Let the public sentiment become so hot that no man can live in it; and let it be known that resignation will always be the alternative rather than rendition of fugitives, and the matter is practically settled. Let no man say that this permission gives every man's conscience the liberty of rejecting what law he pleases, and so tears up the foundation of those ideas which have made us a law-abiding people. This is not a nice and subtle question. It is in no sense a question raised upon the scruples of an individual conscience. It is simply the question of men's rights, which has agitated the world for eighteen hundred years under the stimulation of the Gospel; and to a universal agreement upon which the world may be said to have more nearly come than upon any other doctrine of political economy. The right of a man to his own liberty, the wrong, deep, and fundamental, of depriving a man of that liberty; the unbounded and inexpressible wrong of taking that right from a whole race, a race steadily multiplying its progeny, dropping them into the maw of slavery—about these things there is no division of opinion. Even under monarchies there is political orthodoxy in this respect. It is with this world-received truth of the right of man to his own liberty, that the Constitution of these United States stands at war.

And when we declare in a case so palpable, so glaring, that we shall, between two conflicting jurisdictions, choose the side of God and the side of intelligence and civilization against our inconsistent Constitution, we are not to be put off by that miserable quibble that such liberty of our conscience would lead to mischief! If this is not a case where every Christian man is called upon to do as Peter did,

then History can show none, nor can Time ever disclose one. I take the fundamental Canon of Nature, the first Element of Justice, the Public Sentiment of the Civilized World, all born of and standing on the unequivocal spirit of the New Testament, and declare that I will not prove treacherous to this, for the miserable privilege of agreeing with unprincipled men, and of helping on the cause of oppression. I will be true to God, and help every fugitive from Slavery to a place where he may stand and stretch himself and say—"At length, I am a man!"

From this stand-point, we can behold the duties of Christian papers, ministers, and members of the church. Two theories exist on this subject. One that they should deal with religion simply as a sentiment, as a system of theology and as a class of emotions. The other, embracing all that, holds that they ought to bear the truths of Christianity out into life as a regenerative power. Every man that sits under a minister should feel that his whole soul goes out against Slavery. Every one that comes into a church should feel that the sentiment of that church is as a consuming fire against Slavery. Then, upon fitting occasions, and upon prudent judgment, they should do whatever God shall give opportunity to do. This week is to report to us the aggressions of religion on every part of the world. We shall hear what the Church has done for China, of the missions to France, the mission to Italy. Every evil of the world will be assailed. And there is not a region, a savage people, an inexorable government, where a missionary of Christ may not, if prudent, prosecute his mission of mercy, except one, and that is in America—in the United States—among three millions of heathen. If you teach them to read, if you teach them to write, if you send a minister to preach to them, you will go the penitentiary, or swing on a gibbet. We do not persist in urging the subject from mere restlessness nor desire to mingle in politics. We love quiet, and had rather be praised than blamed. It is eminently a religious question, involving all social and religious questions. But when a question is really a religious question, and when a body of men are handed together to give it victory, all experience teaches which side gains victory. Therefore, we declare that we will not cease endeavoring, by all means, without weariness, unto the end. It must come down. It is not simply at the abuses we aim, but at the system.

REV. SAMUEL R. WARD then addressed the meeting. He remarked upon the numerous falsifications of history, for the purpose of concealing the merits of his people. He alluded to the fact that, at the battle of Bunker Hill, a negro mounted the ramparts and discharged his musket at the enemy no less than fourteen times, and yet in the celebrated picture of that battle, he is represented as skulking behind a white man! He spoke of the prowess of colored men at the battle on Lake Erie, and at New Orleans, and quoted from the Proclamation of General Jackson, his high appreciation of their services at the latter place, and said, for all this, some of these black soldiers went back to their chains. He said that being a peace man, he alluded to these incidents

merely as illustrations of the manner in which the people of color distinguished themselves, and how they were treated when their services were no longer needed. He alluded to individuals, among his race, who had in this country exhibited the most daring courage, and rendered the most valuable services to the country, no record of which had ever been published, because—they were only black men! He spoke of James Forten, afterward one of the most distinguished sail-makers in the United States, and who during the war of the Revolution, was confined on board the prison ship, Jersey. On his release, he took upon his shoulders an American officer, and carried him to a place of safety, at the risk of his life. Mr. Ward maintained that facts abundantly proved that, notwithstanding the contemptuous sneers cast upon the colored man, he had capacities in all respects equal to the white man.

After the adoption of the resolutions, the meeting of the Society was adjourned to meet in the Lecture-Room of the Tabernacle at half-past seven o'clock P.M. The proceedings will be found after the Annual Report.

ANNUAL REPORT.

THE intention of our forefathers in establishing this Republic on the great principles of the equality of man has, thus far, been most signally defeated. An oligarchy of a twenty-fifth part of the legal voters has, by menace and strategy, during three-fourths of the time since the government was organized, governed the nation, with a view to strengthen and extend the accursed system of human bondage. This has been done in despite of the Declaration of Independence, the corner-stone upon which the Constitution was built. This political edifice, reared by the sages of the Revolution, and by them solemnly dedicated to civil liberty, was intended to endure for generations, as a bond of union, and an example to the world.

Is it said that slavery was here when the Declaration and Constitution were adopted, and that its existence was tolerated by a perpetual compromise? The reply is, these instruments were intended to work out its destruction. This is proved by the instruments themselves, by cotemporaneous history, and by the subsequent acts of the parties. It has been, then, contrary to the anticipations of our forefathers, that the Slave Power has sustained itself even within the Old Thirteen States; and in direct defiance of the spirit of the original compact, that it has extended itself over so much new territory. The Declaration solemnly proclaimed to the world the rights of man, and the Constitution was adopted to secure these rights to the people of the United States forever.*

* It is not denied that the framers of the Constitution attempted to make a bargain "between Freedom and Slavery," but we contend

Slavery, therefore, does not constitutionally exist in this country beyond the limits of the territory included in the old confederacy, if it thus exists in any portion of the United States. Congress authorized its extension, and that body is competent to its removal. What it created it can destroy. Hitherto the cunning and perseverance of the Slave Power have operated, through the National Legislature, to defeat all efforts for divorcing the General Government from Slavery, and abolishing it wherever the power of Government extends ; and they are now exercised for the perpetuation of this atrocious system. To withstand and overcome this conspiracy against the rights of man and the political system inherited from our fathers, anti-slavery associations were formed, have been continued, and are still in active operation. Their influence has been felt throughout the country and acknowledged by the leading propagandists of slavery. Under the providence of God they have essentially aided in preventing the establishment of slavery in the new State of California, and a continuance of these efforts will prevent it in New Mexico and Utah, unless Northern Senators and Representatives are found, in sufficient numbers, traitorously to unite with Southern slaveholders in defeating the wishes of their constituents for the "loaves and fishes" promised or dealt out to them by their Southern masters. But, whether prevented or not, we have abundant encouragement to persevere in the anti-slavery agitation, as the retrospect we are about to take of the progress of the cause during the past year will demonstrate. Slavery is conceded to be a doomed institution. Let us hasten its down-

that it was the intention of both parties that the restriction upon Freedom should be temporary ; and had it not been for the profits of Slavery, the system would have died out ere this. If any member of the Convention that adopted the Constitution had moved that the system should terminate in half a century, who doubts that it would have passed unanimously ? However this may be, the "bargain," in the language of John Quincy Adams, "is morally and politically vicious, inconsistent with the principles upon which alone our Revolution can be justified." See Appendix.

fall, re-resolving, that "Under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies to overthrow the most execrable system of Slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth, to deliver our land from its deadliest curse, to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon, and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans."

Two editions of the last Annual Report were published and distributed in this and other countries, while an abstract of it was extensively published in the newspapers. A copy was sent to each foreign missionary—to the principal home missionaries—to editors of anti-slavery, free-soil and religious papers throughout the country—to the members of the 30th Congress—to the foreign ministers and consuls of the United States—to the members of the judiciary and heads of departments—to the governors of the States—to leading clerical and lay citizens—and to distinguished anti-slavery men in other countries. The Committee furnished means for publishing a reply to the Lecture of Ellwood Fisher in defense of Slavery by a Carolinian, and aided in circulating extensively the speeches of Horace Mann. Large editions of the Anti-Slavery Almanac were published and sold. The Committee issued several editions of an Address to the Inhabitants of New Mexico and California, which were distributed by an agent in California. A translation of it in Spanish is in press, and with a quantity in English will soon be sent to New Mexico. They have published and sent over the country, in pamphlet or newspaper form, large numbers of Jay's Reviews of Clay's Compromise, and Webster's Speech on Slavery, and also Seward's Speech. They sent a circular into all the free States, urging the importance of petitioning Congress—1. To secure to alleged fugitives the right of trial by jury; 2. Against the admission of slave States; 3. For the repeal of all laws enacted by Congress for the support of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and 4. For the

establishment of Freedom in the Territories of the United States ; and the result has been that a very large number of petitions have been sent to Congress on these subjects. The Committee have distributed by agents and otherwise numerous publications, their attention having been chiefly directed to this object during the last year. They also memorialized the British Government on the subject of enforcing the treaties with Spain and Brazil with respect to the slave-trade.

The Corresponding Secretary has devoted the principal part of his time to carrying out the views of the Committee by the preparation and publication of tracts, furnishing anti-slavery intelligence for the press, corresponding extensively with the friends of the cause in this and other countries, and supplying members of Congress and individuals, both in the slave and free States, with statistics and facts, and acquiring such information as will enable the Committee to exert a proper anti-slavery influence in the territories lately acquired from Mexico, through the press and agents.

The Committee have sustained a Depository for the sale of anti-slavery publications, and a Reading Room in which the anti-slavery newspapers and other publications, foreign and domestic, have been on file for the use of the friends of the cause.

The means necessary for the expenses incurred have been furnished by members of the Committee, and anti-slavery brethren in different parts of the country.

In presenting a narration of events that have occurred since the last anniversary, in this and other countries, a general statement of the state of the cause at the present time, and an outline of the work to be accomplished, the Committee believe it will be seen that progress has been made, and that the hope previously expressed, that American Slavery was waning, and would at no distant day disappear, is to be realized.

ECCLESIASTICAL ACTION.

It has been truly said by an eminent American clergyman,* "There is no power *out* of the church that could sustain Slavery an hour if it were not sustained by it." We deem it important, therefore, to state, in the first place, what has been done the past year by the church toward the removal of this sin.

In the GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF CONNECTICUT, June, 1849, Dr. Bacon, on behalf of a committee appointed June, 1848, 'to collect facts and make inquiries respecting the discipline exercised by certain ecclesiastical bodies in correspondence with us in regard to the sin of Slavery, in his report says :

"It has always been notorious, and has never been denied or disputed—that in those bodies, (the two branches of the Presbyterian Church,) slaveholding simply as such, is not, and never has been, inconsistent with the regular standing of church members or of ministers. It is universally known that many of their church members, and not a few of their ministers, are masters of slaves, and are subjected to no censure on account of their standing in that relation."

Dr. Bacon does not suppose the Association meant to imply that there is a sin, which can be made the subject of church discipline, in the mere existence of the relation between a slave and his master, and that the slaveholder ought to be censured by the church simply for the possession of the power which the law gives him over a fellow-man, apart from the exercise of that power in specific acts of wrong doing, and therefore turns his attention to the "abuses of the system," to the "great and palpable sins" which "are constantly committed," throughout the slave States, "against their helpless and dependent servants." The Report goes on to enumerate those sins which, it is said, "can hardly fail to exert a corrupting influence on the moral sense of the Church itself," and then states that although the committee have no definite knowledge "as to the extent to which persons in the communion of the Presbyterian

* Rev. Albert Barnes.

churches are partakers in these sins," yet it is charged, and believed by thousands in this country and in other parts of the Christian world, that members and ministers of the Word in those churches do commit the sins alluded to. The committee say that the Assemblies might have directed the Presbyteries and Church Sessions to inquire into the facts and to deal faithfully with delinquents, but it is not known that any proceeding precisely of this nature has been had in either Assembly.

The Report then alludes to the solemn testimony given in 1818, when there was but one General Assembly, against slavery. "In that testimony, adopted *unanimously* by the General Assembly of the undivided Presbyterian Church, the various specific forms of wickedness which we have described, were affirmed to be in point of fact, inseparable from the existence of Slavery in society." Dr. Bacon says, "in neither has the testimony of 1818 been set aside expressly or by any implication." Yet he admits that "in 1845, the Assembly meeting annually (O.S.) having had certain petitions and memorials under consideration, made an elaborate reply, bearing chiefly on the question 'whether the holding of slaves is under all circumstances a heinous sin calling for the discipline of the Church,' and decided that question in the negative." If the various specific forms of wickedness, above alluded to, are in point of fact inseparable from the existence of Slavery in society, as the Assembly acknowledges, how could they consistently decide that slaveholding is not of course a matter for discipline, and how could Dr. Bacon say that such inconsistency does not set aside the testimony of 1818 "expressly or by any implication?"

The committee allude to the action of both Assemblies at their last meetings, in 1849, and conclude by saying, they have thus "inadequately but to the best of their judgment and ability" performed the duty of collecting facts and making inquiries, to which they were appointed. How much better if Dr. Bacon, and the "General Association of Connecticut"

had taken strong views of the "sin of slavery," or rather of slaveholding. The abuses are inseparable from the system, as Dr. Bacon admits. The system itself is an abuse: the holding of a man as a chattel—the annihilation of human personality is a great generic abuse, out of which all sorts and sizes of specific abuses must inevitably flow. Where the distinction between humanity and property is gone, nothing but abuses can be witnessed. On this point we give the testimony of the Synod of Kentucky, which, after enumerating the enormities usually called the "abuses" of Slavery, says, "they are not *excrescences* on the system—they are the *system itself*—they are its essential constituent parts." How then can Dr. Bacon or the Association admit that a slaveholder may be sinless, while the abuses if he be a member of the church should subject him to its discipline? Until ministers and ecclesiastical bodies at the North themselves take higher ground, it is in vain to expect they will exert any powerful influence in elevating ecclesiastical bodies at the South; and Slavery, either abstract or concrete, will stand in small danger from them.

An able and practical minority report was made by Rev. G. W. Perkins. It took ground that slaveholding ought to be considered *prima facie* evidence of sin in the slaveholder. But the report of the majority was accepted. We hope that the learned and influential clergy of Connecticut will adopt the principle of Mr. Perkins's report, and fearlessly reduce to practice the great principles of freedom he has asserted, refuse giving letters of recommendation to church members to unite with slaveholding churches at the South, decline receiving into their communion, as a matter of course, persons with certificates from slaveholding churches, omit altogether inviting slaveholding ministers, or ministers over slaveholding churches, to preach in their pulpits, or administer the communion; and thus act out the great principles which they profess in the abstract. So many church members from Connecticut visit the South, and so frequent are the visits of church members and ministers

of the South to that State, that a decided and thorough course would be attended with the most beneficial results.

At the meeting of the GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS, June 26th, the committee to whom was referred the memorial of Worcester North Association, on Correspondence with Slaveholding Associations, made the following report, which was adopted :

"Resolved, That in maintaining correspondence and connection with the two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church, we look with deep solicitude upon the position of those bodies with respect to the sin of slavery ; that our own strong sympathies are with those brethren in those Assemblies who are laboring in an earnest and Christian spirit, to put an end to this evil ; and that we desire our delegates to those Assemblies, in a decided but courteous manner, to express our deep conviction, that the right of the enslaved, the cause of true religion, and the honor of the great Head of the Church, require those ecclesiastical bodies to use all their legitimate power and influence for the speedy removal of slavery from the churches under their supervision."

In the last annual report we alluded to the appointment of a large committee, by the CONVENTION OF CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS OF MASSACHUSETTS, to prepare a report on slavery. That committee made an elaborate report at the ensuing meeting. The Convention, approving of "the general principles and results of the same," authorized its publication.* There are some things in the report we cannot approve, but on the whole it bears a faithful testimony against the wrongfulness of slavery, and encourages the hope that the attention of the five hundred ministers, to whom it was addressed, will be led to such further examination of the subject as that they will not only be unanimous in their condemnation of American Slavery, and in their refusal to be parties to any Compromise on the subject, but active in using their religious and political influence for its complete overthrow. We rejoice to see in the report such sentiments as the following :

"In answer to the question, which we regard as the grand question

* Published by T. R. Marvin, Boston, 92 pp. 8vo.

of all, viz :—‘Do the Scriptures sanction slavery as it exists in the United States, and as it has been legalized?’ with one voice, and without any reservation or qualification, we are prepared to answer, NO.”

“It is as certain, as any moral demonstration can be, that except as punishment for crime,—*the real genius, the true spirit* of the Mosaic institutions is utterly repugnant and destructive to all slave-holding and slavery! It is the spirit of UNIVERSAL FREEDOM, and therefore the genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.”

“Within the last quarter of a century, a new impulse has been given to freedom. State after State has published its testimony against the intolerable wrong of slavery. . . . He who shall defend it defends that which Christendom with concurrent voice has united to reprobate, and is hastening to destroy.”

“It well becomes the Convention of the Congregational Ministers of this ancient Commonwealth, solemnly to declare to the world their deep conviction of THE INJUSTICE AND INHUMANITY of the system of Slavery, and of its absolute repugnance to ALL THE PRINCIPLES OF THE WORD OF GOD.”

The INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AT BROWNHELM, O., at its meeting August 3d, 1849, for fasting, humiliation and prayer, on the recommendation of the President of the United States, with reference to the national sins, that have been rebuked by the Almighty in inflicting the cholera upon the people, memorialized the President on the subject of American Slavery, which, in their judgment, is a chief reason of the judgments of God upon the nation. Other churches in the land, and many ministers of the gospel, improved the occasion of the national fast to utter their views on this crying sin.

The GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, (O. S.) at its annual meeting at Pittsburgh, May 17, 1849, received a memorial from the Presbytery of Chillicothe, Ohio, praying the Assembly not only to pronounce Slavery to be a sin, but to enjoin upon all inferior courts, a course of discipline which will remove it from the Church. Also, from the Presbytery of Coshocton, Ohio, praying that a committee be appointed to collect and report to the next Assembly statistics on the subject of Slavery, with the digest of a plan of abolition to be adopted by the Church. Likewise, from the Presbytery of Erie, Pa., asking the Assembly to alter sundry terms and

passages in the act of 1845, relating to Slavery. In reply to these memorials a set of resolutions was adopted without debate—*only one dissenting voice was heard**—as follows :—

“1. That the principles of the Presbyterian Church on the subject of Slavery are already set forth in repeated declarations so full and so explicit as to need no further exposition.

“2. That in view of the civil and domestic nature of this institution, and the competency of secular legislatures alone to remove it, and in view of the earnest inquiry and deep agitation on the subject, which we now observe in one or more Commonwealths of our country, where Slavery exists, it is considered peculiarly improper and inexpedient for this General Assembly to attempt or propose measures in the work of emancipation.

“3. That all necessary and proper provision is already made for the just exercise of discipline upon those who neglect or violate the mutual duties of master and servant; and the General Assembly is always ready to enforce these provisions, when the unfaithfulness of any inferior court is made manifest by record, or appeal, or complaint.

“4. We rejoice to believe, that the action of former Assemblies, so far from aiding or allowing the iniquitous oppression of man by his fellow-man, has been steadfastly promoting amelioration in the condition of slaves, by winning the confidence of masters in our freedom from fanaticism, and by stimulating the slaveholder and his pastor alike to labor in the religious instruction of the blacks.

“5. That it be enjoined on Presbyteries situated in slaveholding States, to continue and increase their exertions for the religious instruction of slaves; and to report distinctly in their annual narrations to the General Assembly the state of religion among the colored population.”

The Rev. Edwin H. Nevin, shortly after the adjournment, united with the Free Synod of Cincinnati, and published an address to the Anti-Slavery ministers and members of the Presbyterian Church, (O. S.) in which he stated that he had come to the following conclusions :

“The majority of the ministers, and, I believe, of private members, have no sympathy with the great Anti-Slavery movement of the present age. . . . The action of 1818 is virtually abrogated. Then slavery was said to be a sin ‘utterly inconsistent with the law of God, and totally irreconcilable with the principles and spirit of the gospel;’ now the Assembly boldly and perseveringly declare that

* Mr. Nevin, of Ohio, who presented an able PROTEST, which was entered on the minutes. A few other members subsequently signed it.

slavery is not a sin, but its abuses are ; and that it is perfectly consistent with religion, and is no bar to communion. . . . The true secret of success in the Presbyterian Church is, to let the Church know that you can anathematize Abolitionists, and prove Slavery a Bible institution. Believing that it is a safe refuge, Pro-Slavery ministers are rushing into it from other denominations, and they are always received with a cordial welcome."

In view of the fearful apostasy of this branch of the Presbyterian Church, and since there is no ground to expect "that it will ever rise up to the high and holy platform upon which the friends of the slave think it ought to stand, until forced by an irresistible public sentiment," he asks :

"Is it not, then, dear brethren, our duty, one and all, to separate ourselves from the Assembly, and not only thereby give them evidence of the sincerity and depth of our convictions of duty, but encourage the hearts and strengthen the hands of those who are standing upon the true platform of genuine Presbyterianism, and bearing a faithful testimony against the dark system of American Slavery ?"

Mr. Nevin about the same time published a sermon preached by him to the people of his charge, entitled "The Religion of Christ at war with American Slavery, or Reasons for separating from the Presbyterian Church, (O. S.)" After proving that under some circumstances Christian fellowship with certain churches becomes sinful, that the Presbyterian Church sanctions Slavery, and that Slavery is a crime deserving the severest punishment, he quotes the note of the Assembly of 1794, that to keep, to sell, or buy, men that have been stolen, is a violation of the eighth commandment, and the action of the Assembly in 1818, which adopted the following resolution :

"We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another, as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature ; as *utterly* inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves ; and as totally irreconcilable with the *spirit* and *principles* of the Gospel of Christ, which enjoins that 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.'"

Testimony is then given in relation to the prevalence of slaveholding in the church ; after which the doings of the As-

sembly from 1835 to 1849 are reviewed, and special notice is taken of the following resolution adopted in 1845 :

"That the Apostles did not denounce the relation as sinful—as inconsistent with Christianity—and that the Assembly cannot, therefore, denounce the holding of slaves as necessarily a heinous and scandalous sin."

Mention is made of the work of expurgation carried on by the Assembly in omitting, in the last edition of its Hymn Book, verses like the following :

"Oh! when shall Afric's sable sons
Enjoy the heavenly word,
And vassals long enslaved become
The freemen of the Lord."

The Assembly's Board of Publication, it is said, has attempted a similar work and expurgated Keith's "Evidences of the truth of the Christian Religion, Derived from the Literal Fulfillment of the Prophecies," by the omission of a passage containing the following sentences :

"And any defense or attempted justification of Slavery, or of man having any moral right of property in man, must be sought in vain from the fulfillment of the prediction. . . . God hath made of one flesh all the nations of the earth, and were the Gospel universally and rightly appealed to, no other bond would be known among men but that of Christian brotherhood."*

After the preceding, one would be prepared to read the following in the Southern Presbyterian Review, one of the most stringent organs of O. S. orthodoxy. It is from an article in the name of "an association of ministers in Columbia," S. C. :

"We have searched in vain for any authority for man's natural rights. . . . Adam and Eve may have had some rights which

* This system of expurgation, an example of which, it seems, was set by the Assembly, has been followed by the *American Sunday-School Union*, as was mentioned in the Report of 1849, by dropping from their Catalogue, a book entitled "Jacob and his Sons," at the dictation of one of their Southern Vice-Presidents, because it contained a definition of American Slavery ; by Godey, the proprietor of the "*Lady's Book*," and by other authors, publishers and editors, too numerous to be mentioned here.

God gave them. . . . These were not 'inalienable rights,' however, for they forfeited them and life, with the first act of disobedience. Had they, after this, any rights? We cannot imagine them. . . . If he (man) had no rights, he could suffer no wrongs. Rights and wrongs are therefore necessarily the creatures of society, such as man would establish himself, in his gregarious state. They are, in this state, both artificial and arbitrary. Though man has no rights, as thus considered undoubtedly he has the power, by mutual and common consent, to establish in society such arbitrary rules of right and wrong as his necessity enforces."

But it must not be inferred that all the Presbyterians of the O. S. possess such systems of philosophy—such theological views—or are guilty of such practices. In Kentucky, Breckenridge, Young, and others, have described Slavery as it is, and zealously advocated the duty of emancipation on the score of humanity and religion, as well as political economy, though they connect it with the right and propriety of expatriation.

The GENERAL ASSEMBLY (N. S.) disappointed the hopes of its Anti-Slavery constituents, although a great parade was made of its apparent opposition to slavery. This body was memorialized by 16 ministers and 14 elders in and about Cincinnati, on the subject of Chattel Slavery. They say:—

"1. We believe with the General Assembly of 1818, that 'Slavery as it exists in the United States, is a gross violation of the dearest rights of human nature, and utterly irreconcilable with the laws of God.'

"2. And since, 'To the General Assembly belongs the power of deciding in all controversies respecting doctrine and discipline, of re-proving, warning or bearing testimony against error in doctrine or immorality in practice, in any Church, Presbytery or Synod,' (See Form of Government, ch. 12, sec. 5.) we request the General Assembly to declare plainly and unequivocally that slaveholding, as it is practiced in the United States, is a disciplinable offense, and recommend to the lower judicatories to take immediate action on the subject, and treat that sin as other gross offenses."

After expressing their opinion that the time has fully come, when the interests of the Church demand decisive action on the part of the General Assembly, and that the conscience of the Church and the public sentiment of the world, loudly demand that the Church should divorce, entirely and forever, the

holy religion of the Cross from all such connection with Slavery as in any way implies a participation in, or sanction of this crying sin, the memorial concludes—

“We deem it our duty to state distinctly to the General Assembly that we believe the interests of the Church in the Western States call for a dissolution, in a body, of our connection with the General Assembly after the year 1849, if the proposed action be not now taken. Such an event we deeply deplore; its necessity we hope may never come.”

Memorials were also presented from the Synods of Ohio and Indiana, the Presbyteries of Trumbull, Hamilton, Palestine, Franklin, Huron, Desmoines and Meadville, the Church in Jersey, Ill., and from J. Kimball and others.

The object of these memorials was similar, namely, to free the Presbyterian Church from all participation in Slavery and communion with slaveholders—asking a pastoral letter on the subject, intimating that the memorialists will separate if some action be not taken—asking for a division of the Church unless the Slavery question can be properly adjusted—and praying that Slavery may be placed in the list of disciplinable offenses. Dr. Leach, of Virginia, opposed a reference of the memorials to a committee, in a long speech, delivered in quite a Southern tone. A committee was however appointed.

A discussion took place on the subject of correspondence with the Old School Assembly. Some were in favor of and others were opposed to the measure. Mr. Bassett, of Illinois, said: “to correspond with that Assembly would be to indorse their monstrous and inexcusable position on the subject of Slavery.” He was called to order by a dozen voices, but succeeded in making a vigorous appeal against the proposal. A committee was appointed to consider the subject, and to report at the next Assembly.

Dr. Beman made a report on Slavery, concluding with several resolutions. The 1st reaffirming the sentiments expressed by the Assembly of 1815; the 2d reaffirming the opinions expressed by the Assembly of 1818; the 3d re-

affirming the "declaration of the Assembly on the subject of Slavery," made in the year 1846 ; and the 4th, "that in the judgment of this Assembly, these declarations of former General Assemblies bear an explicit, frank, honest and honorable testimony against the evils of Slavery, and they ought to be 'known and read of all men.'" 5th, "that the incidental evils which belong to the system, when they occur in the Church, should be corrected by discipline," and also "the breaking up of the family relationship, and separating husbands and wives, parents and children." 6th, that they feel "bound to add that there has been no information before this Assembly to prove that members of our Church in the slave States are not doing all they can (situated as they are in the providence of God), to bring about the possession and enjoyment of liberty by the enslaved ; nor are there any facts before us, that they are living in the violation of all the duties growing out of their relations to Slavery as it is continued in existence by the laws of their respective States ; nor do we know that they tolerate any of those evils which ought to call forth the discipline of the Church."

Mr. Bassett moved the following, as an amendment to the report : "*Resolved*, That Slavery is a great sin before God and man, and should be treated by the Church in the same way as other gross immoralities." He spoke till the hour of adjournment of the morning session. In the afternoon the debate was resumed, and several speeches, remarkable for fervid eloquence, were delivered. Chief Justice Hornblower, of New Jersey, distinguished himself by a speech of great power and explicitness, in defense of Mr. Bassett's amendment, saying it went hardly far enough for him. The substitute was, however, lost, and the original report was adopted by a very large majority.*

* It is worthy of remark, that Rev. Dr. Leach, of Va., (understood to be a slaveholder,) moved the adoption of Dr. Beman's report, saying, "he had moved the adoption as the best thing, on the whole, that could be done. It was better for the South than any agitation would be.

The evasion of the subject-matter of the memorials by the Assembly, and the Pro-Slavery spirit manifested in that body, occasioned great dissatisfaction among a considerable portion of the N. S. Presbyterians, some of whom have made it publicly known. The editor of the *Herald of the Prairies*, in view of the doings of this General Assembly, and other ecclesiastical bodies, very justly says:—

“We are interested once a year in examining the records of the general ecclesiastical meetings of our affiliated churches upon the subject of Slavery. The subject will never sleep until it receives a righteous judgment from the church of Christ. The most remarkable feature in church action on the subject is that while Slavery, as legalized in the country, is affirmed to be sin—and those who hold slaves in the legal sense are spoken of as sinners against God and man; and while a common fame that no one doubts, makes known the fact that in the Southern churches this crime is practiced and defended, still the persons alleged to be criminals are not disciplined; but they are communed with and received as brethren at the same time that they are pronounced guilty of the most gross offense against God and humanity. Why, in the name of reason and humanity, is not this sin treated as others? Is it because on the part of the oppressor there is power? How else is it possible to explain such an anomaly in the doings of the Christian church? The churches at the West and North-West generally pronounce the holding and treating men as property to be a sin, and refuse fellowship with the sinner.”

In the FRANKLIN (O.) PRESBYTERY, after an interesting discussion from which it appeared that the majority were not satisfied with the doings of the Assembly, a committee was appointed to draft a memorial to the next Assembly, setting forth their views, and urging more definite and decided action in reference to the great sin of Slavery.

At a meeting of the OTTAWA PRESBYTERY, Ill., resolutions

They could now assure their people that *it was the old thing over again*; it was no more than they had already become accustomed to.” It was the same Dr. Leach, who had previously asked to be excused from the part assigned him, at the communion, on the ground of being a Southern man, and of his being unwilling to administer the ordinance to those who might have prejudices against him for *his connection with Slavery*. Mr. Ludlow, Dr. Beman, formerly active and out-spoken Abolitionists, and Mr. Boardman, deprecated Dr. Leach's decision. Mr. Snyder *did not believe there was a man in the house who would refuse communion with Dr. Leach*. So he assisted in the administration of the ordinance.

were passed approving of the course of Rev. G. W. Bassett, its representative in the late General Assembly, recommending the exclusion of slaveholders from the pulpit and the communion table—disapproving of the course of the General Assembly, and declaring the formal withdrawal of the Presbytery from that body.

The WISCONSIN CONVENTION at Beaver Dam, Dodge Co., of Presbyterian and Congregational ministers, adopted the following resolution :—

“Whereas, our delegate to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia has reported to us that he declined to attend the communion with that body, because Dr. Leach, a slaveholder, was appointed to take part in the exercises, and that he privately offered his objections to Dr. Leach against receiving the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper from his hands—therefore, *Resolved*, That the position of our delegate to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in declining to receive the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper at the hands of a slaveholder, is in accordance with our oft-expressed views, and meets our cordial approbation.”

The subject of Slavery was taken up by the SYNOD OF ILLINOIS at its late meeting in Danville, and a paper was reported by the committee of bills and overtures declaring Slavery a sin, and the action of the late General Assembly, O. S., in reference to this matter so unsatisfactory, that the Synod of Illinois ought publicly and solemnly to separate itself from that body. This report and declaration were referred by the Synod to a committee, a majority of whom reported against the adoption of it. After much discussion, however, the following paper was adopted:

“The committee to whom was referred the declaration upon withdrawing from the General Assembly, report :—That, while they feel very anxious to be delivered from all participation in the sin of Slavery, they do not feel, at present, willing to be separated from the General Assembly. We still cling to this connection with the ardent hope that we may be instrumental in ridding our whole Church from that great moral evil.”

The PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF MARION, Iowa, at a meet-

ing held on the 12th of January, severely denounced the 'institution' of Slavery. The Pastor, Rev. Mr. Fullerton, ably sustained these resolves:

1. That we not only approve of the sentiment contained in our old confessions of faith, that "buying, holding and selling slaves for the sake of gain" is man-stealing; and, also the declaration of our Assembly in 1818, that the same is a "heinous sin and scandal in the sight of God;" but we believe the very act of *claiming property in man* a gross violation of his rights and a usurpation of the prerogative of Jehovah.

2. That as no man can own slaves without claiming property in man, so no man can own slaves *without incurring guilt*.

3. That all Church sessions should require members to abstain from even the appearance of this sin.

4. That while we are not-insensible of the fact that such a requirement would call for great sacrifices from some church members of the South; yet the command given to Lot—"Escape for thy life," (Gen. xix. 17 :) the command given by Christ, to "pluck out a right eye," or to "cut off a right hand if it offend," (Matt. v. 29, 30,) teaches us that no sacrifice is too great when the salvation of the soul is at stake.

5. That we will not only make our practice conform to our belief, but we will use all scriptural means to bring all our churches to the same faith and practice.

6. That so long as we are permitted to interpret the Bible for ourselves, and exercise the privileges secured to us by chapter 20 of our Constitution, ("God alone is Lord of the conscience and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to his word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship,") we do not think it our duty to forsake the Presbyterian Church, whose confession of faith and form of government we love; but to labor and wait for the day in which she shall "look forth, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

The PRESBYTERY OF INDIANAPOLIS had memorialized the Synod of Indiana to withdraw from the General Assembly, (N. S.); and the PRESBYTERY OF FORT WAYNE had expressed to the Synod its determination to instruct its Commissioner to the next Assembly to withdraw from that body if it did not take such action as the Presbytery indicates.

The report of the committee to whom had been referred overtures embracing these proceedings was adopted at the last meeting of the Synod. The committee think the action of the

Assembly has been greatly misapprehended, but believe its language, in one respect, injudicious, indefinite and injurious. The Assembly say that, "no information has been before them to prove, and no facts have been before them to show, that members of our churches in the slave States are living in the neglect of their duties, or in the commission of any of the wrong acts" that had been specified. It is true, says the report, that no testimony has been formally before them, because no opportunity had occurred for the introduction of any such testimony, but "common fame had long charged, with trumpet tongue, and throughout all Christendom, and uncontradicted too, all the churches of the slave States with a criminal participation in the voluntary continuance of slavery, and in the actual commission of those particular wrong acts and exercises of arbitrary power which the Assembly recognizes as disciplinable." The report contends that the Assembly ought to institute inquiries, and take such action as truth and righteousness and benevolence may demand ;" they recommend that the Synod ask the Assembly to institute such inquiries, and carry into effect, "by kind and salutary discipline, the meaning and intent of the previous declarations of the Assembly ;" and further, that in the administration of such discipline, *to continue to sustain the legal relation of master is to be regarded as prima facie evidence of wrong.*

The CHAMPLAIN (N. Y.) PRESBYTERY, at their late meeting in Malone, resolved, "That we regret that no higher ground was taken by the last General Assembly on the subject of American Slavery. Yea, we are deeply grieved, that in an age like this, in the midst of events so full of hope to the cause of freedom, the highest court of our beloved branch of Zion should be able to make no decided advance beyond the action of former years, in favor of the emancipation of the enslaved and oppressed in these United States."

The FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF AMERICA was formed by a convention which met in Cincinnati after the refusal of

the General Assembly, O. S., of 1846, to insert the word *slaveholding* in the list of violations of the eighth commandment, or to take such other action as would make that sin disciplinable. To the form of government was prefixed the following declaration on the subject of human rights :

"I. God has made of one blood all nations of men ; consequently all human beings, endowed with rationality, have an equal right to freedom.

"II. The holding of human beings as property is destructive of all the ends for which man was created and endowed with rational powers, and consequently one of the greatest evils that can be inflicted on human nature ; highly immoral, and entirely inconsistent with Christian character and profession.

"III. No person holding slaves, or advocating the rightfulness of slaveholding, can be a member of this body.

"IV. That no Church, Presbytery or Synod, tolerating slaveholders, or the advocates of slaveholding, can be a constituent part of this body."

This body has been on the steady increase since its formation.

THE FREE SYNOD OF CINCINNATI, Ohio, had a five-days' session about a year since. In relation to Civil Government, and the duty of Christian citizens, it adopted the following minute :

Whereas, Civil Government is an ordinance of God, and the civil magistrate is the minister of God, appointed for the preservation of the rights of the people over whom he exercises authority : Therefore,
Resolved,

1st. That no candidate for civil office should receive the suffrages of Christian voters, who is guilty of the crimes of slaveholding, dueling, or other scandalous offenses against the law of God.

2d. That to assist by our votes in electing such persons to offices of honor and authority in the land, is a violation of the law of God, and a censurable offense, according to Chapter 1, Section 3, of our Book of Discipline.

3d. That this Synod affectionately and earnestly entreats the ministers in our connection faithfully and fully to present to the people under their care the sinfulness of such conduct, and its utter inconsistency with our testimony as a Church of Christ.

4th. That we affectionately entreat the Sessions of the Churches to confer with and admonish any of our members who may be guilty of this sin, and that if, after due time for consideration, and after faithful exhortation on the part of Sessions, such offenders will still persevere in wrong doing, it is the duty of the Sessions to proceed to the

use of such further disciplinary measures as will either produce reformation, or effectually remove them from our communion.

And more recently the Synod has put forth a Pastoral Letter from which we make the following extract :

"It is high time therefore for Christians to act as Christians in their citizen, as well as in their church capacity. We have emancipated ourselves from the dominion of the Slave Power in church affairs. Let us not be guilty of the folly of building up with one hand, while we pull down with the other. Let not the finger of scorn be pointed at our inconsistency of testifying against slavery as a crime, while by our solemn votes we bestow the highest honor upon those who are notoriously guilty of the crime. Vile and unprincipled demagogues, who make party their god, will condemn your consistency, because the welfare of our beloved country is no part of the objects they have in view. Your own conscience and the Word of God, however, will approve your course.

"The Synod considers that the casting of a vote for civil rulers is one of the most solemn and responsible acts performed by a Christian citizen, and like all other acts, to be done to the glory of God. We affectionately urge you, therefore, to let your consistency as Free Presbyterians be known and read of all men. Ally yourselves to no political party on earth at the sacrifice of your Christian independence. Hold yourselves in readiness to bestow your suffrage upon good men of any or no political organization, who will carry out the great ends for which civil government has been ordained of God.

"Thus our testimony against slavery will not only be visible on paper, but be *felt* in its benign influence upon civil affairs. If, on the contrary, we cast our votes to sustain a crime against which we testify, we shall sink into deserved contempt and uselessness."

The FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF WEST ALEXANDER, Pa., which withdrew from the General Assembly, O. S., because, as they assert, that body involved them in the guilt and shame of supporting American Slavery, and compelled them to hold Christian communion with the oppressor, issued, last fall, a printed address to the church from which they had separated, giving their reasons for withdrawing, and solemnly admonishing their old friends of the guilt and danger incurred by them in continuing their connection with slaveholding bodies.

The REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD OF NORTH AMERICA, at their meeting held in Philadelphia in May last, defined the position of their highly respectable body in regard to slavery.

No slaveholder has, since 1800, been admitted to their communion. They required of their connections a general emancipation. These Covenanters have not sworn, and do not swear oaths to the institutions of this country, among other reasons, because the Constitution of the United States contains, as they say, compromises with the slaveholding interests, and guarantees for the institution itself, protection so long as it exists in the slaveholding States.

The Synod has held fraternal correspondence on the subject of slavery with churches of the same faith abroad. In reply to the expostulation of the Scottish Synod with those churches in this country that are implicated in the sin of slaveholding, the Synod says :

“Anti-slavery movements still occupy a large share of public attention. Remonstrances from abroad are important auxiliaries in the cause of freedom. Our prayer is, that everywhere, and in every form, oppression may cease, and speedily, from among men—that ‘man who is but sprung of earth, may oppress his fellow no more.’ ”

To the Synod of Ireland, this Synod writes :

“The whole North is waking on the subject of slavery. It is now the controlling element in the great political movements of the country. And while we are far from approving the manner and spirit with which this great contest against despotism is, in many instances, conducted, we do rejoice, as philanthropists, as patriots, as Christians, and as Covenanters, that the great principles of human liberty, long practically despised, and set aside by the slaveholding institutions of the United States, are spreading themselves with new energy throughout the increasing millions of our land. In this you will rejoice with us.”

THE NEW YORK SYNOD OF THE ASSOCIATE REFORMED CHURCH, in communion with the Scotch Presbyterian Church, keeps up a correspondence with the ecclesiastical bodies of the same faith and order in Scotland and Ireland. At the meeting of the Synod, held at Caledonia, in June last, letters from the Irish Presbyterian Church, the Free Church of Scotland, and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, were read. The Irish Church wishes for specific information as to the manner in which the

Associate Reformed Church deals with the system of slavery, and says :

"In our correspondence with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, we have entered at large upon the consideration of the question, and have adverted to the influence which ecclesiastical courts may legitimately exercise in the removal of natural evils. We trust, however, that the Associate Reformed Synod of New York is bearing faithful testimony against the sin of slavery, and that we do not, therefore, require to urge upon you more particularly the claims of injured humanity."

The UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH says :

"You observe silence regarding the views and position of the Associate Reformed Church on the subject of slavery, and on the cognate question of the separation of the colored from the white population, which, even in the most sacred institutions of religion, is kept up by the Protestant churches in the United States.

"According to our information, one of the Synods of your church is deeply implicated in the sin of slavery, as admitting slaveholders into its fellowship, and continuing such among its members and office-bearers. We understand, also, that with the ministers and members of that portion of the Associate Reformed Church, those of the other portions, though it may be condemning slavery, continue in fellowship. And it is farther reported to us, that within the congregations of your own Synod, the separation of the colored population from the white is kept up in public worship, and at the Lord's table.

"On this matter the United Presbyterian Church had, in both of its branches previously to the union, emitted a decided testimony, condemning slavery in all its forms, and disclaiming fellowship with any and all churches in America, however agreed with us in doctrinal standards, and in forms of worship and government, which connived at slavery under any modification, or continued the obnoxious distinction in the house of God between the white and colored population already referred to. This testimony we have renewed during the present session, in the following resolutions, which have been unanimously adopted, viz. :

"1st. That this Synod regards slavery, especially that form of it which was recently practiced in some of the British colonies, and is still obstinately persisted in by not a few of the United States of America, as utterly repugnant to the dictates of reason and revelation—repudiated by common equity—a flagrant outrage on the claims of our nature, and a daring insult offered to its Author.

"2d. That although a secondary evil connected with slavery, it is yet an evil deeply to be deplored, that the prejudice generated by its prevalence is not limited to those in bondage, but extends to Christians of color who are free, between whom and their white brethren, even at the Lord's table, a distinction is made, the most unchristian and revolting—a distinction which is at once malevolent and absurd, admitting

their equality as fellow-christians, and denying at the same time their equality as fellow-men:

“3d. That with us it is matter of growing conviction, that since the American churches have, to a great extent, the means of putting an end to slavery, they cannot make progress in vital godliness, but must inevitably wither and decay, unless by the speedy and unsparing exercise of true Christian discipline, they are led to wipe away from them so deep-seated and so foul a stain.

“4th. That while we cherish sentiments of unfeigned good will toward the Christians and the Christian churches of the American Republic, yet we feel very deeply, and cannot but lament, that our intercourse with them has been grievously obstructed, or almost entirely broken off by the extent to which some of them directly participate in the atrocities of slavery, while others who do not directly participate, are yet winking very culpably at the iniquity of their brethren.

“5th. That, with these views of their guilt and danger, this Synod can neither recede from our previous determination to avoid all fellowship with churches conniving at slavery, nor desist from remonstrating with them, as God may give opportunity, being well assured, that to let them alone is to hate them, to suffer sin upon them, and thus to make ourselves answerable, in no small degree, for their transgressions.’

“We are very desirous of obtaining from your Synod, accurate and full information in relation to your sentiments and practice on the points specified. An assurance from yourselves, that you repudiate fellowship with slaveholders, and that you have abolished the negro or colored pew in your congregations, will afford unmingled joy, not to us only, but to a very large class of Christian philanthropists in this land of various denominations; and viewed in connection with your standards as a Presbyterian church, and with your past history, would commend you to our hearty confidence and affection, and would enable us to yield a prompt and delighted compliance with the special request in your committee’s letter.”

The action of the Associate Reformed Synod itself, on this subject, is indicated in the following paper, introduced by Rev. D. C. M'Laren :

“Whereas memorials have at different times been presented to this Synod soliciting an expression of our views on the subject of slavery, and whereas it is a subject which now agitates both Church and State—we, ministers and elders in Synod assembled, deem it proper and seasonable to declare, and do hereby individually declare,

“1st. That it is contrary to the religion of Christ, to the moral law, and to the natural rights of man, for civil governments or private individuals, to regard, hold, or treat the persons of men as matters of property or traffic, liable to sale or purchase.

“2d. That to place or retain human beings, especially for no fault of their own, in this enslaved condition, is an act in itself morally wrong, irrespective of circumstances incidental to that condition, and circumstances under which the slave may enjoy the most luxurious indolence, exempt from actual servitude and laborious toil.

"3d. When the civil laws of a State enjoin or permit the release of slaves, it is the moral duty of those who hold them to set them free—and as an act of charity to the poor and needy, or an act of justice for services rendered, to support those who, when restored to their freedom, may be unable to provide for their livelihood.

"4th. When the constitution or laws of a State penally prohibit the emancipation of slaves, a relation is thus formed between the slaveholder and the slave, over which the former has no more direct control than the latter, in which case a man may be connected with slavery in the relation of master, without sin, provided he do whatever he can do, and may do as a citizen, to procure a repeal of such restraining laws, and provided he do in his own person acknowledge the injustice of them, performing, at the same time, the duties devolving on him in the involuntary relation he by law sustains.*

"5th. The moral duties resting on the master, where slavery exists by laws which recognize human beings as articles of property, are substantially the same with those due to the hired servant—and then the condition of a slave, as regarded and recognized by the moral law and the gospel of Christ, is much the same as that of a hired servant, and when the duties resting on the master or the servant are not acknowledged or discharged, where slavery exists, or where it does not exist, the neglect of those duties is sin on the part of the master or the servant."

THE IOWA STATE CONVENTION OF UNIVERSALISTS

Resolved, That, looking upon all men as members of one great family, "born free and equal," we regard the claim and the exercise of the right of property by man in his fellow-man, as a palpable usurpation, and look upon the system of American slavery as a system of oppression, at war with the principles of Christianity and genuine Republicanism; and that while we would by no means indulge in indiscriminate denunciation, we earnestly entreat all professedly Christian slaveholders to consider that they are wresting the rights of humanity from those who possess its attributes, and to ask themselves whether they can do thus, and claim to love those whom they thus reduce to the level of brutes and things inanimate, as they

* We regret, exceedingly, that when the Associate Reformed Church was rebuked for admitting slaveholders into its fellowship, and continuing them among its members and office-bearers, and keeping up the separation of the colored members from the white in public worship and at the Lord's table, instead of meekly acknowledging the faithfulness of their transatlantic brethren, and resolving on reformation, it should apologize for continuing to hold slaves in States that do not recognize emancipation. The A. R. C. does well to denounce slavery, and require emancipation where the civil laws permit it, but in tolerating it where the laws do not permit it, as is the case in all the States, we believe, except Kentucky and Missouri, a *quietus* is put upon the consciences of slaveholders. Better to move into States where the laws do sanction emancipation or give some friend in such States a deed on behalf of the enslaved, to use for the protection of the emancipated, in case of the death or bankruptcy of the grantor, and meantime to treat them as hired laborers. No necessity exists, in any State, for continuing the relation of master and slave.

love themselves; and we call upon them by all that is holy in Christianity, and all that is sacred in the rights of man, to "break every yoke" and let the oppressed go free, and thus fulfill the injunction, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

Early in the present year a Call for a CHRISTIAN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, to be held April 17, 1850, was issued at Cincinnati, O., signed by a Committee of fifteen persons, of whom twelve were clergymen, representing eight different denominations of Christians. The Committee say—

"Among the many reasons which, in the opinion of the undersigned, render such a Convention desirable, we would mention the following :—

"1. The guilt of a wrong action is proportioned to the light and knowledge against which it is committed; and God having by his providence fully revealed, through experience and discussions, the sinfulness of Slaveholding, the Church has no longer a cloak or excuse for continuing therein. These are not the days of ignorance, in which the sin can be winked at, but all men, everywhere, are called upon to repent and forsake it.

"2. The injurious influence of a sin in the Church becomes greater when it particularly attracts the attention of the world. Slaveholding has now drawn upon itself the observation of all men, and so universal has been the condemnation of the practice, that even the semi-barbarian refuses to tolerate what a portion of the American Church cherishes as a part of the Christian system, and thus the Gospel is evil spoken of, and its progress hindered at home and abroad.

"3. We believe the influence of the Church to be so great, that no earthly power can destroy this sin, while, as now, it finds countenance and protection among the professed people of God; and that nothing can save it from speedy ruin so soon as the Church shall withdraw her support.

"4. It has become a question of grave import, with a large number of Christians, whether each member of an organized body is not held responsible by God for the sin of the organization of which he VOLUNTARILY forms a part; and it is believed that a public and free interchange of opinions upon this point would produce a salutary effect upon the minds of hundreds of inquiring Christians.

"5. A large body of American professors, influential from their numbers, wealth, and social rank, have deliberately chosen and publicly declared their position; they enshrine slaveholding in the Church, and cherish and defend it as a practice agreeable to the spirit of the Gospel. To a body of Christians, large already, and daily increasing, it is a very solemn question, whether silence and inaction on the part of other portions of the Church, do not give consent to these pro-slavery principles, and whether this consent does not make the sin ours by adoption, and involve us in the consequences."

Previous to the day appointed, nearly 2000 responses to the Call were received. At the time and place appointed, about 150 delegates from abroad were present. The discussions, which were amicably and ably conducted, continued four days. On motion of Rev. J. G. Fee, of Kentucky, the following resolution was passed without a dissenting voice.

“Resolved,—That the friends of a pure Christianity ought to separate themselves from all slaveholding Churches, and all Churches, ecclesiastical bodies, and missionary associations, that are not fully divorced from slaveholding; and we who may still be in connection with such bodies, pledge ourselves that we will separate ourselves from them, unless they will speedily separate themselves from all support of, or fellowship with, slaveholding.”

This, we conceive, is the true ground. If Christian Abolitionists resolutely adopt such a course, and act upon such principles, in a spirit and temper becoming the gospel, it will soon be acknowledged that Christianity has power to abolish Slavery, and it will speedily do it.

A Call has been issued by Daniel Chapman, John Cross, Owen Lovejoy, Alanson St. Clair, George W. Bassett, and others, for a Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, to be held at Ottawa, Illinois, May 9th, of all those Christian and ministerial brethren, of whatever denomination, who believe in *non-fellowship* as the only proper Christian position toward slaveholders, for the purpose of devising some plan, by which future co-operation may be secured.

The AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS, at the annual meeting at Pittsfield, Mass., September, 1849, greatly disappointed and grieved the friends of the slave. At their previous annual meeting the Prudential Committee had submitted an unfinished correspondence with the Cherokee and Choctaw missions, on their connection with the subject of Slavery. This included the celebrated letter of Mr. Treat, one of the Secretaries of the Board, dated June 22d, 1848, a letter that gave high satisfaction to the anti-slavery friends of missions, because it seemed to evince that the Committee had

determined, at length, to grapple with the subject of Slavery, as connected with their missions. But opposition was excited among the pro-slavery presses, and threats made that the income of the Board would be seriously diminished should the policy commenced be continued. At length, the Prudential Committee, "perceiving," as they said, "that the Christian community had extensively misunderstood their letter to the last named mission"—the Choctaw—published an explanatory statement. This measure occasioned great pain to the friends of the slave, because it seemed to evince a disposition to retreat from the exalted position so nobly taken, and evade the question at issue.*

At the annual meeting the Committee stated that the correspondence was continued with the two missions; that they did not think it "expedient, at present, that the correspondence with the Cherokee mission should be laid before the Board;" and that "for reasons which are deemed entirely satisfactory, the Choctaw mission did not reply to the letter of the Committee, dated June 22d, 1848, until April last." This reply was submitted. It seemed to give much satisfaction to the members of the Board, corporate and honorary. Its temper was subdued, and it was written with unusual shrewdness. The main points of Mr. Treat's letter are entirely overlooked. No allusion is made to that part of it which speaks of the duty of missionaries to "exhibit the legitimate bearing of the gospel upon Slavery," and the testimony to be borne "against the wrongfulness of shutting the slaves, as a class, out from the lively oracles." Neither is there anything satisfactory in reply to what Mr. Treat had written on the "instruction of slaveholding converts," nor on the GREAT QUESTION of the

* We regret to say that some highly respectable religious newspapers and magazines, who, previous to the meeting of the Board, were decided and out-spoken with regard to the anti-slavery action that should be taken, have since been quite mute on the subject. This is the more singular, because the Board did not take the least action on the points respecting which these independent journalists said they had a right to act, and were bound to act!

"admission of slaveholders to the Church," nor yet on the "treatment of slaveholding church members." The missionaries say :

"We have ever felt it our duty to seek the spiritual good of both masters and servants, and not to interfere with the legal relations they sustain to each other. When, with the consent of the master, we have seen an opportunity of extending a helping hand to the slave, we have ever been ready to embrace it. . . . We regard Slavery as a tremendous evil. . . . We entirely accord with the sentiments expressed in that Report (Report of the Board in 1845,) and especially with the two fundamental principles there laid down : 1. 'The ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper cannot be scripturally and rightfully denied to those who give credible evidence of piety.*' 2. 'The missionaries, in connection with the churches which they have gathered, are to be the sole judges of the sufficiency of this evidence.' These have been our principles from the commencement of the mission."

It is quite evident from the foregoing extract from the Report of the Board, thus introduced, that the mission does not consider slaveholding sinful *per se*, or as diminishing "credible evidence of piety" on the part of the slaveholders. Of course it is not intended to exclude them from church-membership,

* They are 'denied,' and very properly, to persons who, under some perversity, commit offenses deemed disgraceful to the Christian profession, until they are brought by disciplinary measures, to a right state of mind. *Contumacy* is deemed a sufficient offense to subject a person to suspension from Church privileges. And yet a person guilty of some freak of temper, or refusal to obey the citation of a church that may have subjected him to a temporary denial of church ordinances, might, in the judgment of charity, be a Christian. If such a person shall be suspended from the ordinances of the Church, shall a slaveholder who is denominated in the Scriptures a "manstealer," who has been enlightened on the subject, and who refuses to liberate his slaves, be fellowshiped as a Christian in good and regular standing? Can it be said of him that while he persists in holding his fellow-men as chattels personal, he gives "credible evidence of piety?" We think not; and would debar from church fellowship every slaveholder, since we consider the fact that he holds his fellow-men, and perhaps fellow church members in slavery, *prima facie* evidence that he is not a Christian. Let him be kept out of the Church, or if a member, be suspended from church privileges, until he is taught the wickedness of holding slaves. If he sees the truth, and obeys it, he will liberate his slaves; and if he refuses to do so, it is clear that he "walketh disorderly," and that his profession is worthless. In either case suspension will have been proved wise, both as respects the Church and the individual. How wonderful that our ecclesiastical bodies do not see this obvious principle, and act upon it! 2 Thess. iii. 6; 1 Cor. v. 5; and James v. 19, 20.

nor discipline such slaveholding members as are already in the mission church. It is apparent also that the Board does not intend to censure the mission for the course they intimate they shall pursue, nor even to require them to comply with the instructions given in the letter of Mr. Treat. The violent opposition made to this letter, by the pro-slavery presses, appears to have alarmed the Prudential Committee, and induced them to imagine that the positions taken in Mr. Treat's letter were in advance of public sentiment.

The missionaries do not seem to be aware that they afford any countenance to slavery by admitting slaveholders into the church, or allowing such to continue church members without censure; but they acknowledge that there is undoubtedly some encouragement and support given to slavery by what they pay for hired slave labor. "So far as it goes, it tends to make slavery profitable." Still, they think that hiring slave labor is not so wrong as the practice of people living in the free States in purchasing the products of slave labor; and that it is rather unjust to oblige them to abstain from everything which may in a small degree add to the profit of slavery, while "the rest of the world"—these are their words—"with ample funds are sustaining it on a vastly larger scale, without fearing rebuke, or seeming to apprehend that they are doing wrong."*

The Prudential Committee stated that they had been coöperating with the Choctaw mission in endeavoring to substitute free labor for that of slaves, but they "are sorry to say, that they have not succeeded as yet."†

* That is: "I am no worse than you, if as bad." The standard of morals is expected to be higher at a mission station than it is among "the rest of the world."

† At first view it appears extraordinary that, among the numerous friends of the Board, free persons in humble life cannot be found to perform the domestic services at the missions. One would expect that pious men and women, in the free States, would, from religious principle, engage in such duties; and when the missionaries say, "we have repeatedly and most earnestly solicited a supply of free help," it would seem that the churches have greatly neglected their entreaty. But a little reflection will solve the difficulty. Anti-Slavery information and

While we duly appreciate the vast amount of good effected by the instrumentality of the American Board, most deeply do we lament the backward course they have taken on the Slavery question. Without departing from the great object of their association, the conversion of heathen nations and the Indian tribes on this continent, they might, it would seem, consistently aid rather than hinder the rectification of public sentiment in this country on the subject of slavery, since the more the moral sense of the nation is elevated, the more pure will the churches become, the more evangelical and holy will be the missionaries sent forth, and the higher will be the standard of piety in the mission churches. The heathen under the instructions of American missionaries will not probably be converted to a higher standard in religion than exists among the friends of missions in this country. Surely it is then within the scope of a Board for Foreign Missions to see to it that so far as their example and influence extends, the churches at home shall be free from all connection with the heathenish system of slavery and have an elevated tone of piety in regard to all questions of moral reform. When the churches take this practical view of the subject, the hands of Christian philanthropists will be greatly strengthened, and they will have the prayerful coöperation of American Missionary Boards, and that of the American Missionaries in foreign fields, who look to these Boards for an example. "We do not see," says the *National Era*, "how a Mission Board can expect to retain the confidence of Christians who are opposed to Slavery, while they refuse to exclude the practice of slaveholding from their Mission Churches." Nor do we see how a Missionary Board can possess the confidence of enlightened Christians while it refuses to do all it consistently can to reform those who sustain its missionary

sentiment have so pervaded the community that it is now difficult, if not impossible, to procure respectable persons to go from the free States into a slaveholding community, much less into a community of slaveholding church-members, to labor. Even Christian people will not do it at the urgent solicitations of missionaries!

operations, and present to the world the highest example of Christian faith and practice.

The DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH has sufficiently indicated its position on the absorbing question of the day, and its views as to the proper course to be pursued by Missionary Boards, in the following resolutions adopted at their General Synod, in July, 1849 :

“Whereas, the subject of slavery has for some years past been urged upon the attention of the A. B. C. F. M., and has consumed much valuable time at their annual meetings; and whereas, in the opinion of this Synod, a continued introduction of the subject into the deliberations of the Board threatens to affect injuriously its harmony and efficiency, and is foreign to its great object as an institution, created for the simple but noble purpose of spreading the gospel among heathen nations, and sustained as such by Christians who embrace different views on the merits of this perplexing question; therefore,

“Resolved, That this Synod respectfully express to the Board our deep conviction, that it would be highly inexpedient for the Board to entertain this subject in its future deliberations; and that the lawfulness of admitting slaves or slaveholders to the communion of the Christian church, and other kindred matters, should be left to the adjudication of the churches and ecclesiastical authorities, to whom such questions properly belong.”

The CENTRAL ASSOCIATION, Illinois, composed of between twenty and thirty Congregational Churches, at its meeting at Lafayette, October 9th, considered an important paper, reported by a committee, relating to the action of “the American Board and Slavery.” It gives a history of the proceedings of the Board for the past thirteen years, and says that, in respect to it, it will be observed :

1. That the missionaries intimate no intention ever to cease receiving slaveholders to their churches, but vindicate the practice as scriptural.

2. That the Board, by its Brooklyn report, to which it adheres, has constituted them and their churches *SOLE judges on the subject*.

3. It follows, that contributors to the Board's funds must *perpetually*, so far as any contrary hope appears, contribute to the propagation of a slaveholding Christianity. And

4. That slaves are to do the work of the mission schools till, in the missionaries' judgment, it is *practicable* to obtain free help.

In view of the above, and the whole subject, the Association, while deferring the consideration of the report of its committee to their next meeting, "with a view, by eliciting discussion, to ascertain to what extent its representations and reasonings are correct," submitted to the Christian public, and especially to the churches represented in the Association, the following propositions :

That the experience of past ages, and the discussions of the present, have settled the following principles and facts :

1. That the property-holding of mankind, displacing or vitiating marriage, parentage, wages, and every other relation and institution of society ordained by God, and substituting its property relation in its stead, is, in its nature, and to the extent of its practical influence and power in a community, a complete contravention of God's laws and man's rights.

2. That, therefore, voluntary slaveholding (and there is no other, the alleged exceptions being few and technical, not affecting the mass) is simple violence, and its relation a relation of violence, resting not on reason or Scripture, but on force.

3. That therefore it must forever characterize the community which tolerates it, overriding and expelling whatever opposes it, and assimilating everything which falls in with it to itself.

4. That therefore the planting of slaveholding churches must ultimately prove a damage to the tribe or nation where they are planted, sheltering the worst social violence and injustice beneath the shadow of the Cross, and confounding men's ideas of righteousness, which is the basis of the Kingdom of God.

5. That we are driven, with the keenest regret, to the admission that the A. B. C. F. M. is now propagating a slaveholding Christianity, by planting and sustaining slaveholding churches among the Choctaw and Cherokee Indians.

6. That a boarding-school, where the manual labor is done in whole or in part by slaves, hired of their owners, where youth must infallibly imbibe a contempt for labor and laborers, is calculated to generate contempt for Christ himself, who toiled at hand labor until near thirty years of age.

7. That, after thirteen years' correspondence on the subject of employing slaves to work at the mission-schools, the excuse for deferring action on the subject, on the ground that "the correspondence is unfinished," can scarcely be serious.

8. That since the missionary piety of a country is its most popular piety, and the American Board the most influential of American mission boards, gagging church sentiment wherever its masses meet; and since the subject of slaveholding and slave-hiring has been agitated in the Board, regularly, for the last eight years, at the most influential points, as to missionary opinion, in the whole country, to wit, at

Philadelphia; Norwich, Conn.; Rochester, N. Y.; Worcester, Mass.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; New Haven, Conn.; Buffalo, N. Y.; and Boston and Pittsfield, Mass.; the steady refusal of the Board to terminate slaveholding and slave-hiring in the mission churches and mission schools has exerted a most disastrous influence to shelter and shield slaveholding in this country, and discourage and depress all effectual opposition to it, and efforts for its removal.

9. And, finally, since Christ is enslaved in the person of every pious slave, and in view of the facts above detailed, showing the relation of American Christianity to American slavery—we would respectfully recommend to such American Christians as may join in it, a day of national fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to be observed once each year, until this national curse shall cease.

The American Home Missionary Society, in wielding its large resources and extensive influence, we doubt not, in many respects, with an enlightened zeal, and in accordance with the will of the great Head of the Church, exerts but little positive influence on the side of Freedom as opposed to the encroachments of Slavery, while, in some cases, it encourages and strengthens this system of wickedness. While it occasionally publishes letters condemnatory of Slavery, and sends no collecting agents into the slaveholding States, it admits slaveholders as members of the society. It requires that the credentials of its missionaries sent into slaveholding communities "be acceptable to that ministerial body of his own denomination, within whose bounds he is appointed to labor." It aids over fifty missionaries in the slaveholding States, and it is believed that every one of them receives slaveholders to the communion of the church, as Christians in good standing. No evidence is given to the world, that one of them considers slaveholding a bar to Christian fellowship. The missionaries of the society in slaveholding States, as elsewhere, collect funds for the society, which flow into its common treasury.

We earnestly hope, though perhaps without sufficient ground, that this society will, without further delay, exert all its influence in diffusing an uncompromising anti-slavery Christianity throughout all the destitute places in the country. Is it said that no missionary would be suffered to reside or preach in any

slave State who should inculcate such a gospel? Let the trial be made before the attempt is pronounced hopeless;* and if they will not hear the truth, why should not the missionary obey the command of Christ to his missionary disciples, "Who-soever shall not receive you, nor hear you, when ye depart thence, shake off the dust under your feet for a testimony against them." But the success of the Rev. John G. Fee of Kentucky in forming an anti-slavery church in that State, and in preaching fearlessly against the sin of Slavery, shows that the Gospel can be thus preached in slave States. He was formerly a missionary under the care of the American Home Missionary Society, and left its service because it was not wholly free from slaveholding influences, inasmuch as it required, in his opinion, the recognition of the Christian character of the slaveholder, and was sustained, in part, by his contributions.

This Society, in a recent number of its periodical, avows that "the great hindrance" to their sending more missionaries into the slave States, is the existence of Slavery. One of their missionaries in a slave State writes as follows:—

"There is ONLY ONE THING that hinders our entire happiness, and that is the curse of SLAVERY. But of this I may not now speak. God grant, that our conduct while here, may not go to sanction this evil. But to come out openly, and avow hostility to the 'sacred' institution would be to thwart all hopes of doing good, and insure us a speedy passport from the country."

Hear what another missionary says, who writes to the Board from Kentucky, and who possesses more courage, or is more favorably situated. He writes thus:—

* It is said that when Colonel Miller, at the battle of Lundy's Lane, was asked by the commanding general, "Can you silence that battery?" he replied, "I'll try, sir." He immediately led on his command to the advantageous eminence where the artillery of the enemy was placed, and from which they were pouring down upon him a murderous fire, and after a desperate conflict silenced the battery. Shall not the missionaries of the Cross have equal intrepidity? Shall they not surpass the courage of warriors who strive for temporal applause? Shall they not emulate the example of the early Christians, who did not count their lives dear unto themselves, we are told, in finishing the ministry they had received of the Lord Jesus?

"Another thing that I should, perhaps, mention as ENCOURAGING, is the growing opposition to Slavery. The pulpit can now speak out on this subject, and men will hear. Some are taking an active part in the organization of the emancipation party at our election for members of the convention next year. We are determined to remove this great difficulty in our way, or die in the attempt. As Christians and as freemen we will suffer this libel on our religion and institutions to exist no longer.

"I feel that we owe it to God, and the oppressed race in the midst of us, to exhibit the whole truth in regard to this matter. I shall, however, be careful not to permit my influence or my ministerial character to suffer. As far as possible, I will carry out the Savior's precept to 'be wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove.'"

This heroic determination is not responded to by many influential ministers in slave States, who are connected with this Society: on the contrary, when they make their annual visits to the North, for the purpose of attending general assemblies, anniversaries, associations, etc., they utter very different language. Some of them are eloquent and popular, and take a leading part at the ecclesiastical meetings at the North, and often exert, we are constrained to say, a baneful influence. Their sayings are deemed oracular, and are calculated to palsy the efforts of timid brethren. One of these religious orators, in an address before the theological students at Andover, is represented as having said, that his State was a very important field for ministerial labor, but that no young preacher should turn his steps thither, unless he had attained "grace sufficient to enable him to maintain perfect silence while there on the subject of Slavery!" Such is the advice given by a doctor of divinity, born and educated at the North, and now residing in a slave State, to the sons of New England in preparation for the gospel ministry. Of such, says a Southerner, in addressing the Cleveland Convention, Ohio:—"Be assured, gentlemen, that if you could, by some affectionate *appeal* or other means, induce the sons of the free States, who are settled among us, to *speak for Freedom*, or never speak at all, and thus be true to their education and instincts, the cause of anti-slavery would progress much more rapidly in the South."

The AMERICAN BAPTIST FREE MISSION SOCIETY adheres very strictly to its anti-slavery character. Its mission to Haiti is said to be an interesting one. The Constitution of the Society contains a pledge that the members "shall be distinctly and thoroughly separated from all connection with the known avails of slavery in the support of any of its benevolent purposes," and from "all religious societies that are supported in common with slaveholders;" that it shall be composed of members "who are not slaveholders, but believe that slavery under all circumstances, is sin, and treat it accordingly;" and that its missionaries shall not be "slaveholders, or advocates of slavery." Free mission principles are making progress, and becoming more deeply seated in the hearts of the people, especially at the West.

A WESTERN BAPTIST FREE MISSION CONVENTION was held at Cincinnati, April 5th. An address was adopted to their Baptist brethren in the West, and the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That every effort to establish and sustain distinct churches, schools, or colleges; or to prevent equality of association merely on account of color, is practically throwing an influence on the side of the oppressor.

Resolved, That any institution of learning which acknowledges any superiority in one student above another merely on account of caste, or color, is unworthy of patronage.

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION held its third annual meeting at Boston, September 25, 1849. It preserves its distinctive characteristics; it is free from slavery in all respects. It admits no slaveholder, and does not receive his funds. It opposes caste, polygamy, and war. The following resolutions, among others, were passed:

MENDI MISSION.

Resolved, That in the providence of God which led to the establishment of the Mendi Mission, we recognize his call upon Christian Abolitionists, to engage in the work of evangelizing Africa; and that we recommend to the Executive Committee to take measures for the establishment of another mission, farther in the interior of that country, as soon as practicable.

JAMAICA MISSION.

Resolved, That we approve of the efforts of our missionaries at Jamaica, to educate the emancipated people to sustain the institutions of the Gospel ; to encourage the introduction of agricultural labor adapted to the new condition in which they have been placed ; and that we regard their exertions for the promotion of temperance and missionary economy as worthy of extensive imitation.

CITY MISSIONARIES.

Resolved, That the large number of colored persons in our principal cities makes it desirable that special missionary labor should be performed among them ; and that we regard the field as one of great usefulness, demanding the unremitted exertion of wise and well directed efforts in it.

GENERAL AGENTS.

Resolved, That this Association, formed to disseminate a pure Gospel at home and in foreign lands, without conniving at, palliating, or tolerating the sins of slaveholding, caste, war, polygamy or intemperance, having, by the blessing of God, been eminently successful in its labors, owes it to the Redeemer, and to a world perishing in iniquity, to persevere in and enlarge its operations ; and that we invite all the friends of a pure Gospel to cooperate with us in our efforts to proclaim in every suitable way, by the press, in the church, and through the American Missionary, the principles of the Association, and to secure for its name a place on the list of benevolent societies to be presented to the church for contributions.

FREE CHURCHES IN SLAVE STATES.

Resolved, That as the feasibility of establishing churches in the slaveholding States, which shall preclude the admission of slaveholders, and of distributing the Bible to slaves, has been demonstrated, the Executive Committee be requested to avail themselves of every opportunity to apply the Gospel to the destruction of slavery in those States.

The following extracts are from the Annual Report :

" The (Mendi) Mission, situated in the midst not only of Slavery but of the slave-trade, has ever refused to give the least countenance to the idea that man can possess property in man. Except in one or two instances, which occurred during the interval between Mr. Raymond's decease and the arrival of his successors, not even the chiefs of the country have ever been permitted to place the badge of servitude upon any man while on the Mission premises, or to carry any man bound across them. The good effect of the opposition thus shown to Slavery, together with the direct appeals of the missionaries to the principal men of the different tribes, is beginning to manifest itself. Slavery and the reduction of men to slavery are, however, so intimately connected with their savage life, that rapid progress cannot be expected—except in connection with revivals of pure and undefiled

religion, and the conversion of men to God. Captives taken in war hold their lives at the mercy of the captor, and except by special intervention, the only alternative is slavery or death. A large number of those at the Mission have been saved by it from one or the other of these fates. Slavery is a punishment for crime. A law providing that a man found stealing may be shot down, or if caught must be sold as a slave, has been passed by the chiefs since Mr. Thompson's arrival at the Mission. The immediate occasion of this was the great increase of stealing since the war has been carried on in that region. This has been caused doubtless, in part, by the lawlessness generated by the war spirit, and in part by the scarcity of food consequent on its ravages. Mr. Thompson remonstrated earnestly with them against the passage of this law, spoke of the wickedness of selling men, the brotherhood of the human family, and our duty to love each other. They assented to the correctness of Mr. Thompson's remarks, but in extenuation made the much-abused plea of necessity, as they have none of the appliances of civilized life to restrain the liberty of men convicted of crime.

* * * * *

"After a residence of three years in this country, during which she has made commendable progress in study, Sarah Kinson, (whose African name was Mar-gru,) one of the Amistad captives, is about to return to Africa, prepared to aid in the intellectual and domestic education of her fellow-countrywomen, and we trust with a desire to become useful to them. Two of the three captive girls of the Amistad will then be at the Mission. The death of the third was announced in our last annual report. These two are both hopefully pious. Some of the men who composed the company of captives of the Amistad yet remain connected with the Mission, but the exact number of these the Committee have no means of knowing."

No people, it is said, except the natives of the Sandwich Islands, have ever yielded more readily to the cultivation bestowed upon them, than the people of Africa. The Report says—

"The opposition to slavery and caste incorporated in the principles of our organization, the exclusion of the slaveholder from participation in our counsels, the denial of Christian fellowship in any of our churches to all who are voluntary in sustaining the relation of master to slaves; in a word, the entire freedom from all connection with this sin which a consistent membership in our Society demands, seems to indicate that we may enter this field of labor, and strive for the overthrow of the peculiar sins of this people, without fear of the taunt, 'Physician, heal thyself.'"

The Association has nineteen missionaries and teachers laboring among the emancipated people of Jamaica. After narrating their labors the report says :

"The difficulties in the way of the missionary at Jamaica are not yet overcome. In some respects they seem to be increasing. Some of the dreadful habits superinduced by slavery still remain to curse the people, and prevent the progress of the gospel. The ignorance, the licentiousness, the deceit, the indolence, the lack of self-control, and the habit of regarding their interest as antagonistical to that of their employers, which belonged to that system, are still strongly marked among them. While this is true, it is also true that they are making very commendable advances in enterprise and general improvement."

Favorable accounts are received from time to time from Rev. Jonathan S. Green and his wife, at Makawao, East Maui, Sandwich Islands, who dissolved their connection with the American Board, on account of its relation to the sins of slavery and caste, and in consequence of their belief that it was their duty to establish a self-sustaining mission. He writes :

"The oppression formerly practiced by the chiefs, such as is common in all barbarous nations, is here giving way before the light and influence of Christianity. The monopoly of the land is being yielded. A constitution and written code of laws have been given to the people, to which additions are made year by year as needed, and their rights are being respected more and more by their rulers."

The Rev. Charles B. Ray has been employed as a missionary in the city of New York, among the colored inhabitants. In his report to the Committee, he notices the fact that free people of color are not only driven by prejudice into a corner of what ought to be to them a sanctuary, but when compelled by self-respect to rent or purchase churches for themselves, they are prevented by the same cause.

The Association has employed two colporteurs in Kentucky, to distribute copies of the Bible, and anti-slavery publications, among the people, bond and free, without distinction of color. They are members of the Independent Church, under the pastoral charge of Rev. J. G. Fee. This Church is founded upon anti-slavery principles, no slaveholders being admitted to its communion. The experiment has succeeded admirably, as similar experiments have with the Covenanters, the Society of Friends, and the Wesleyan Methodists. The Report adds :

"In answer to inquiries and instructions from the Corresponding Secretary of this Society, in relation to giving a Bible or Testament to every slave that can read, and to pass by no family without inquiry and supply, Mr. Fee says, "I can assure you he never passes by a slave or a family." In that part of Kentucky the slave population is comparatively sparse, hence the number supplied with the Bible is not great. One of the most important objects gained by Mr. Gillespie's labors is, in Mr. Fee's estimation, the free conversation which he has in almost every family, on the sinfulness of slavery, and the duty of separating entirely from it in all Christian organizations.

"During a part of the year, Mr. Henry Bibb, formerly himself a slave, has been successfully employed in collecting funds for this object.

"Mr. Fee has been requested to secure the services of other colporteurs, that the work may be extended."

That the Bible is occasionally put into the hands of slaves by their masters and mistresses, and by the agents of Bible Societies, is not denied; but we do not know of any systematic effort made in any slave State to supply the slaves with copies, except by the colporteurs of the American Missionary Association. The monthly acknowledgment of money FOR SLAVES, by the American Bible Society, has led some into the belief that that institution received and applied funds for the special purpose of supplying the slaves who can read with copies of the Holy Scriptures. But the public have been advertised that, although the Bible Society receives money for slaves, as it does for other objects, yet no separate fund is kept, and the money thus given is merged with the general funds. Whenever Bibles are solicited by reliable persons for distribution among slaves or fugitives from slavery, the American Bible Society, and it is presumed all Bible Associations, readily make the grant.

In concluding the Report the Committee say :

"Regarding slavery as a sin, and abhorrent to every Christian feeling, the observations of the years that have passed since our organization have but matured our opposition to it, and given permanence to the conviction that all who have any voluntary connection with it, walk disorderly, and should be precluded from admission to Christian fellowship in the church of God."

THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CONNECTION OF AMERICA is

Anti-Slavery in its organization. Persons who hold, buy or sell slaves, or claim that it is right so to do, are excluded from its communion by its constitutional law. It has extended its operations more or less through all the free States, and has three ministers laboring with great success in Virginia and North Carolina. One of these, the Rev. Mr. Bacon, has been three times put upon trial before the courts of Virginia, on the accusation of violating their slave laws, in circulating anti-slavery publications, and still he is at large preaching an anti-slavery Gospel. This denomination have increased and extended their influence during the past year. They have twelve yearly conferences, more than twenty thousand communicants, and not less than five hundred ministers, every one of whom preaches non-slaveholding as a condition of eternal life.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Wisconsin Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection at its fifth annual session :

Resolved, 1. That in the opinion of this conference, it is highly inconsistent and egregiously wrong for any who are convinced that slaveholding is forbidden of God, and hence a sin in itself, to fellowship this sin in any way whatever, or give their suffrages to either pro-slavery religious or political organizations. 2. That, since the faithfully carrying out of the elective franchise for the promotion of universal freedom is a solemn, religious duty, we will faithfully and incessantly labor to elevate the colored man—more, all men—to the platform of equal rights and universal brotherhood ; and that we will not cease our labor of love while the suffering bondman's cry is heard.

THE NEW-ENGLAND CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, at their meeting in July, 1849, adopted the following resolutions :

1. That the progress of anti-slavery truth and sentiment calls for the devout and lively gratulation of every philanthropist.

2. That the united and untiring efforts of all friends of humanity should be consecrated to the achievement of liberty for the oppressed.

3. That the glory of God and the good of mankind require the exclusion of slaveholders from the Christian church.

4. That the testimony of the Methodist Episcopal Church against "the sum of all villainies" would be more explicit and decided were the Tenth Section of the Discipline expunged.

5. That as preachers of the Gospel of purity and brotherly kindness, we will prudently, yet faithfully preach against slavery; frequently presenting to our people its black enormities, the wrongs of the oppressed, and the guilt both of the oppressor and of those who wink at their crimes.

Notwithstanding the above faithful testimony by a Conference that has been for a long time sound on the subject of Slavery, the Methodist Church, North, cannot be considered anti-slavery, although its separation from the Church South, on account of Slavery, has led many to think otherwise. The *True Wesleyan* says that "the action of the General Conference which led to the separation, was not against Slavery or slaveholding by the membership or ministers, but simply against slaveholding by the Episcopacy; and *that* not upon *principle*, but wholly upon the ground of *expediency*. This division was brought about by the Southern and not by the Northern members, who did what they could to prevent it, and now condemn the act as unjustifiable; but it did not throw all the slave States into the Southern General Conference. Official documents show that there are at the present time in the Northern General Conference *eight* annual Conferences, a part or the whole of whose territory is in the slaveholding States. There are many slaveholding preachers in the M. E. Church, and it ordains slaveholders to the ministry. It is computed that there are in the M. E. Church, North, not less than four thousand slaveholders, and twenty-seven thousand slaves.*

The meeting of the Conference this year closed on the 2d of May, having adopted the following resolutions on the Slavery question, as one of the concluding acts of the last day :

Resolved, That while we feel humbled by the continued existence of Slavery with its wickedness and abominations, we rejoice in the increasing evidence that it is not now chiefly contemplated in political

* See Book of Discipline as quoted in the *Anti-Slavery Standard* and the *True Wesleyan*.

or fiscal connections, but that the moral sentiments of the nation are being aroused against it, and the true principles of freedom with reference to the rights of all men are being rapidly and generally diffused.

Resolved, That we believe the day will come when the moral reprobation of the world will rest on this evil, and men will regard Slavery and its supporters with all the abhorrence with which they look on the tribunals and dungeons of the Inquisition, and the vilest forms of oppression which have existed in past ages.

Resolved, That it is our duty as Christians, on all proper occasions, to protest against that low standard of morality that sanctions the settlement of any difficulties by a compromise of moral principles, and that it is our duty to maintain the cause of justice and the oppressed, and leave the results with God.

Resolved, That Christians cannot consistently give their influence to elevate men to places of honor and trust who are known to be supporters of any great social and moral evil.

Resolved, That the glory of God and the good of mankind require the exclusion of slaveholders from the Christian Church.

The *Zion's Herald*, a Methodist paper published at Boston, has the following with reference to the late emancipation movement in Kentucky :

"We are mortified that we do not find associated with the Breckenridges, Campbells, and other clerical leaders of public opinion in this noble undertaking, any eminent Methodists. Dr. Bascom could write a prize document on palliation if not vindication of Slavery, but none of his ministerial associates, so far as we learn, have magnanimity enough to take a stand for the cause of the down-trodden negro, or to speak out a word of encouragement to the good men who are attempting his redemption. Not an article, so far as we have observed, has appeared in any Southern Methodist paper in favor of the Kentucky movement. Several months ago a Methodist wrote anonymously in favor of Emancipation, in the Examiner of Louisville, but he was called to account, and his audacity sternly rebuked by the South-Western Christian Advocate. It cannot be questioned, that the Methodist ministry of Kentucky could control this great question, nay, a half score of the leading men of that ministry, by openly taking a stand for the movement, could control the question. The rest would follow in their steps; the people would generally follow the ministry, and with the numerical strength of Methodism, in the State, no opposition could resist the moral force which would thus be brought to support the movement. *The Methodist ministry will be responsible if this great effort fails.*"

As an evidence of proscription in this State, we record that Rev. Dr. Malcolm was forced to resign the presidency of Georgetown (Baptist) College, because he voted the emanci-

pation ticket. Rev. Dr. Fuller, of Baltimore, formerly the powerful pro-slavery opponent of President Wayland, of Brown University, Rhode Island, was invited to succeed Dr. Malcolm, but he declined the offer; and it is said that it was owing to the fact that he has modified his views on the subject of Slavery, and is no longer the defender of that institution.

The Methodist Episcopal Church in this country once bore an unanimous and decided testimony against Slaveholding, "as repugnant to the inalienable rights of mankind, and to the very essence of civil liberty, but more especially to the spirit of the Christian religion, as an inconsistency which is scarcely to be paralleled in the history of our race." It declared that "the whole spirit of the New Testament militates in the strongest manner against the practice of Slavery . . . using the bodies of men by arbitrary will, and with almost uncontrollable power," and declared its determination to rouse up all its influence, "in order to hasten to the utmost, the universal extirpation of this crying sin . . . for the sake of God, his church and his holy cause—for the sake of their country, and of the miserable and oppressed."* Happy would it be for this branch of the church, and for our country, if this voice from the Fathers were heeded by the Methodists throughout the land at this day!

The ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH has been supposed to be opposed to Slavery, and to Caste. Not many years since Pope Gregory XVI. issued an encyclical letter, which was widely circulated, in condemnation of Slavery. But Dr. Cummings, an ecclesiastic of this city, has, in a recent lecture, undertaken to prove its divine origin, while with singular inconsistency, he advises the slaveholders and the Southern legislators, in honeyed language, to get rid of the system. It is conjectured that this lecture indicates a purpose to effect a political alliance between the Catholic Church and the Slavery propagandists.

A glowing account was published in the *New York Observer*

* See the Address of the General Conference of 1800, signed by Coke, Asbury and Whatcoat, in the *True Wesleyan* of February 9, 1850.

last August, about the religious instruction of slaves in Georgia, contained in a letter from a correspondent of the Methodist denomination, from which we extract the following :

"The Alabama Missionary Society, which is connected with the State Conference, sends out 25 missionaries into as many different circuits, each one of whom has ten or twelve appointments per month. It appears that 18 to 20 of these missionaries labor almost exclusively with the blacks. The number of members under the care of 22 of these missionaries is 3,600, and the number of the blacks who are catechised by them is 4,200. Most of the latter are children. . . . The aggregate number of members in Georgia is 43,000 whites and 17,000 blacks. There is one county that employs its own missionary, and he has collected 647 members and catechises 800 individuals.

At the late Georgia Annual Conference, resolutions were passed, the substance of which is as follows :

"The preachers are instructed to require the colored members under their charge, who may hereafter take husband or wife, to be married in due form by an ordained preacher or authorized officer of law, provided the masters do not object. When church members have heretofore agreed to be man and wife, or may hereafter be married, they are not to be allowed, voluntarily, to separate, except for Scriptural causes. The importance and duty of affording religious instruction to the black population is acknowledged and deeply felt by the mass of Christians. Many at the South are beginning to ask themselves if they have the MORAL RIGHT to withhold from two-fifths of their number the revealed will of God."

Though we receive such intelligence with some abatement, still it is cheering to be assured that the conscience of the South is stirred up. While Slavery continues, however, "religious instruction" there will necessarily be "another gospel," both as it respects the slaveholder and the slave.

Not long since a bill was introduced into the Legislature of Georgia to prevent the assembling of negroes for religious worship, unless conducted by white persons ; and to prevent the licensing of negroes as preachers in Putnam County, with the expectation that it will be applied to the whole State.

A mob assembled at Charleston, S. C., not long since, to pull down a colored church, and it was with difficulty that the Mayor prevailed on the law-breakers to desist from the attempt.

Other facts might be cited in proof of the indisposition of the South to allow religious instruction to the slaves, unless accompanied by such incumbrances as to prevent its doing much if any good. The late Dr. Nelson, a Southern preacher, and kindly disposed toward the South, gave it as his deliberate opinion that the proportion of real Christians among the reputed slave converts was exceedingly small. How can it be otherwise when the religious instruction at the South, generally speaking, is of a pro-slavery character, against which the instincts of the slave naturally rise in rebellion? The more intelligent the slaves are, the more readily will they revolt at the teachings they receive, and at what they are taught is the nature of God and His written word. On the other hand if the true character of God is explained to them, and the Gospel is preached in its fullness, they must perceive its contrariety to the principles and practices of slaveholders, and thus consider them, though they profess to be Christians, arrant hypocrites. Slaveholders in general perceive this, and therefore object to the slaves learning to read the Bible lest they should there become acquainted with their God-given rights. They wish to have the slaves confined to oral instruction, that is, to a slaveholding gospel.* It may be well to give a few specimens of the religious views prevailing among the mass of slaveholders. We therefore make the following extracts from the Augusta (Ga.) Republic :

"We invite any, who are not blinded to madness, to look into this holy, wise and merciful work of the beneficent Creator. And in defending the character of the Christian's God, as the author of Southern Slavery, we only ask that its history may be traced. Go back, then, into the wilds of Africa, and see two of her savage tribes engaged in the din of deadly battle. The one, and perhaps not the aggressor, proves victorious in the conflict. And now the brooding spirit of the God of mercy says to the conquering party, do not butcher your cap-

* It is no uncommon practice for slaveholders, in their religious teachings, in the family and in the church, to omit certain passages in the Bible and in the Hymn Book, and sometimes to make alterations as they read, in order to hoodwink the slaves. Repentant slaveholders have related these things at the North.

tives, though they may have unjustly assailed you, and, if conquering, might have put you to death, and paved their yards with your skulls, as many savage tribes of your country do with their captured enemies; but do you act upon the principle of mercy and benevolence. Make them your servants—turn them into your money—and then they will be grateful to you, and you will love and protect them. The Divine influence prevailed over their savage minds, the poor captives destined to destruction were spared by their conquerors, and became their kind and submissive slaves. But to go back to the case recorded in the ninth of Genesis, when Ham and his son Canaan, through whom Ham's descendants are subjected to the prophet, arose, had committed a most atrocious offense of some kind, was it not wondrous mercy in God, instead of the decapitation of Ham, to simply punish him in Canaan, the first son, perhaps born to him after the offense, by flattening his head, kinking his hair, and blackening his skin, and turning him loose, with his mind in chains, to be a servant of servants to his brethren, thus giving him time and opportunity for repentance, upon the same principle that the New Englanders confine their free negroes in their Penitentiary, instead of hanging them for crimes. Nor is the wisdom and mercy of God less marked with infinite benevolence, in allowing these captive sons of Canaan to be transported from bondage in their own land of degradation and darkness, to our country, where their enlightenment, and religious opportunities would not only elevate their civil character, but secure to them gospel privileges, through which thousands of them have rejoiced in past ages, and thousands will rejoice in redeeming mercy, in every generation, down to the judgment trump, at the sound of which, we are told, that every bondman, and every freeman, together with men of every rank in society (found in impenitency), will say to the mountains and rocks, fall on us, and hide us from Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb, for the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?

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“But putting the institution upon the footing that many of the forefathers of our slaves were kidnapped, though the avaricious dark-hearted thieves ‘meant it for evil, God meant it for good.’ And while he holds those avaricious man-stealers responsible to the decisions of the eternal judgment, he has greatly improved the condition of Joseph, by providentially causing him to be thrown into our honest possession, and as the steward of such a trust, we feel bound to take good care of our charge: and God forbid that the vandalism of Yankee and British fanaticism should bring against us any iniquitous Pharaoh to wield the scepter of oppression over them, and in after generations. Your correspondent would insinuate that the fact of our Southern men voting in Congress to prohibit the importation of slaves from Africa and also to prevent the extension of Slavery to some of the territories, denoted their disapproval of the institution of Slavery. They voted against the Slave-Trade, not because the condition of the poor slaves would not be vastly bettered, but mainly, because it was becoming a rather strong temptation to the iniquitous sin of Yankee and British kidnapping.

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"I have no pretension to prophetic vision, but, upon the showing of your correspondent, our slaves are greatly prospering, and the God of heaven has placed not only New, but Old Mexico, in such geographical and climactical juxtaposition to our sunny South, that I know not, but when enlargement for our slaves may require, he who has ever favored those walking under the banner of truth and righteousness, may open the way in peace and good will too, for his peculiar institution of slavery to carry its blessings still farther West.

"Ah, why, we ask, should it not be destined to pass over the battle-fields of Mexico to the Halls of the Montezumas, bearing thither this glorious gospel banner, whose motto is glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will toward man. There not only to give to all classes access to the true religion, to raise the poor Peon to an equality with our slaves in point of religious privileges, but to unshackle his mind fettered in superstition, and elevate him as a descendant of Japheth, to a position in the scale of intellectuality far above the point beyond which the sons of Canaan can ever rise, with God's prophetic doom stamped upon their physical and intellectual organs."

The Charleston (S. C.) Evening News, has an article by one whose signature is "A LOVER OF THE BIBLE," in which he attempts to prove that "the Abolitionists are blasphemers of God and revilers of man." This is his proof;—"Abolitionists are blasphemers, because they practically deny the right of God to rule his own creatures, or to regulate his church, and they do this in opposition to plain and positive precepts and directions." The writer quotes several texts of Scripture, and in a parallel column arrays charges in proof that Abolitionists act in defiance of the Scriptures. As an evidence of the Theology prevailing at the South, we give a sample :

Our blessed Saviour spoke, and his apostles wrote of the relation of master and servant, without a word of censure. The New Testament, <i>passim</i> .	The Abolitionists are incessantly reiterating charges of inhumanity, tyranny, cruelty, oppression, and sin; not against the abuses of the system, but against the system itself.
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This "lover of the Bible" sums up his *pious* article in this wise :

"On the authority of Paul, the inspired author of the Epistle to Timothy, we contend that Abolitionists might not be esteemed Christians, while they persist in their present course of thought, language,

and action. On the same authority, we contend that they ought to be held up to the scorn and just condemnation of their fellow-men, as blasphemers of God, willfully disobedient to his word, faithless to their obligations as citizens, false accusers, and cruel revilers of their fellow-men."

A late number of the *Louisville Baptist Banner* contains a caution to the members of that denomination, not to allow their sympathy for the slave, and efforts for his emancipation, to be detrimental to their piety ! Here it is :

"We are painfully apprehensive that some of our brethren have suffered themselves to become so deeply involved in the slavery question, as it is now politically agitated in this State, that the peace and harmony of some of our churches are threatened thereby. This is what we have dreaded and deprecated, as a probable consequence of agitating this question among us, from the beginning ; and to ward off which we have used all imaginable caution, and have deemed it our duty to exclude it, as a question of political controversy, from the columns of the Banner."

But this is not all. The *Louisville Democrat* inserts the following :

"I saw an admission in your paper last week, which I think is calculated to do a majority of the ministers of the gospel in this State injustice. You gave it as your opinion, that most of this class of men are in favor of the present movement for the emancipation of the slaves. In this I think you are mistaken. The Baptist is the most numerous denomination in Kentucky, having more communicants than Methodists and Presbyterians united. I speak advisedly, when I assure you that most of the Baptist preachers are opposed to agitating the subject of slavery in any way, in the approaching Convention."

To cap the climax with regard to pro-slaveryism in the Baptist Church, we annex the following advertisement taken from the *Religious Herald*, a weekly 'religious' paper published at Richmond, Va., and edited by a slaveholder, who is also a Baptist preacher :

"Who wants \$35,000 in Property ?

"I am desirous to spend the balance of my life as a missionary, if the Lord permit, and therefore offer for sale my farm, THE VINEYARD, adjacent to Williamsburgh, and containing about 600 acres—well watered, well wooded, and abounding in marl—together with all the crops and stock and utensils thereon.

"Also, my house and lot in town, fitted up as a boarding establishment, with all the furniture belonging to the same.

"Also about forty servants, mostly young and likely, and rapidly increasing in number and value.

"To a kind master, I would put the whole property at the reduced price of thirty-five thousand dollars, and arrange the payments entirely to suit the purchaser, provided the interest be annually paid.

"SCERVANT JONES."

The moral destitution of the South is felt and acknowledged by many Southerners, and is seen by all candid and upright persons of the North, who visit the slave States. It is a moral destitution inseparable from all slave regions. Not long since, there was a meeting of Colporteurs at Lewisburgh, Va., who had traversed from fifty to sixty counties in that State, being a territory about equal to the whole New England States.

From a letter of a Clergyman who attended the meeting, we make the following extracts :

"The *means of education* are very restricted and inadequate. The schoolmaster needs to be on horseback to find his pupils. Probably one-fifth of the adult population cannot read at all, and a much larger proportion are but poor readers. . . . In many counties, there were not more than one or two common schools in operation. Sabbath-schools were few in number, and imperfectly supplied with teachers or libraries, and few children attend them. The amount of ministerial instruction is altogether inadequate. . . . Such facts as the following, existing in a State which has been settled for two centuries, seem hardly credible; yet they are strictly true. A county, forty miles long, has the labors of but two preachers, with six congregations, averaging about forty members. Another county, seventy miles by thirty, has the labors of only two itinerant preachers."

The free State of Ohio has about *one-half only* of the white population of *eight* of the most prosperous slave States, viz. : North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi. Yet she sends to school *forty-two thousand* more children than the whole of them together. She has about the same white population as North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi united; and she has EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN more colleges, academies, and schools than the whole five together, and sends to school ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-ONE THOUSAND more children! In the

five slave States above named, there are of whites, over twenty years of age, who *cannot read or write*, 138,000. In Ohio (with the same white population) there are of those who cannot read or write, 35,000. The following table gives the proportion of the whole white population who, being over twenty years old, cannot read or write :*

Buncombe County, North Carolina,	-	-	1 to 6
North Carolina,	-	-	1 " 8
Georgia,	-	-	1 " 13
Virginia,	-	-	1 " 13
South Carolina,	-	-	1 " 13
Alabama,	-	-	1 " 14
Mississippi,	-	-	1 " 15
Ohio	-	-	1 " 42

The effects of Slavery upon the increase of population in the country are remarkable. At the adoption of the Constitution, the population of the free and slave States, respectively, was nearly equal. The census of 1790 shows that the excess in the free States was only 12,000. It is a startling fact, that this excess has, in less than sixty years, swelled to more than thirty-eight hundred thousand ! The following table has been compiled, as to the years 1790 and 1840, from the census, and from the year 1848, from the Patent Office report :

	Free States.	Slave States.	Excess.
1790,	1,968,455	1,956,374	12,081
1840,	9,728,922	7,334,421	2,394,501
1848,	12,758,000	8,028,000	3,830,000

Nor is this all : for, estimating the slaves at 2,800,000, and rejecting them from the table, it appears that the free States out-number the slave States, in free people, by more than six and a-half millions. It cannot be denied that the slave States have, in the mean time, enjoyed great natural advantages. They have received by the purchase of Louisiana, and by the annexation of Texas, an empire to their territory.

* For these facts see the able Speech of Hon. L. D. Campbell, of Ohio, delivered in the House of Representatives, Feb. 19, 1850.

The sun does not shine upon a more fertile region. Its navigable rivers are the noblest on earth, and its soil and climate ripen the choicest productions. Its agriculture has enjoyed almost a monopoly of rice, sugar, tobacco, and cotton. The production of cotton has risen, from a million and a-half pounds in 1790, to a thousand and sixty-six millions in 1848. The production of sugar in Louisiana alone, is estimated at two hundred million pounds. And, yet, with all these advantages to stimulate its industry and swell its population, the South has fallen behind the North, in sixty years, six and a-half millions in her free population, and nearly four millions in her total numbers. If we bring particular States of the Union into comparison, we shall reach similar results. The difference in the population of the free and slave States is one reason why the latter are so deficient in popular education. So long as their population is sparse—and it will be thus until Slavery becomes extinct—it will be impossible to establish a system of free schools. Good roads, bridges, canals, and railways are to be found only in free States. They do not exist in any slave country on earth. The multiplication of churches and other religious and philanthropic institutions follows a large population of free citizens.*

The Southern people are giving much attention at present to the propriety of introducing manufactures at the South. They have, it cannot be denied, natural advantages of a high order. Their iron, their wool, and their cotton are abundant. But there are insuperable difficulties in the way of their success. They need a home market, they need towns and cities.† All the natural advantages in the world cannot compensate for the want of them, and they cannot be constituted of slaves. They need, also, free laborers. They cannot have these while Slavery continues. With slaves alone, they cannot succeed in

* These are the remarks chiefly of a Southern writer. See an Essay on Slavery and Population in the *Louisville (Ky.) Journal*.

† National Era.

their manufacturing projects. But let them try. They may find, says a writer in the *Tribune*, that manufacturing will not be successful with slave labor, and that steam-machinery will render Southern Slavery as losing a concern as Hand-loom Weaving has become in the North of England, and that God in the progress of science has doomed Chattel Slavery to irretrievable destruction.*

The greater part of the slaveholders do not seem to wish to have the prevailing state of things improved. They glory in their moral destitution, and would perpetuate it. The oligarchy, consisting of about one hundred thousand slaveholders,† desire, for the sake of enjoying forever their political and social eminence, to keep their blacks in chains, and the non-slaveholders in ignorance.

A plan to establish schools in Virginia was voted down by a large majority of the people. In view of this fact, a writer in a

* A writer in the *Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle*, takes a new view of Slavery. He thinks that the influx of foreigners will ere long produce such a disparity between the numbers of the "Caucasian and African races," that great changes must take place, in consequence of these "two distinct classes of laborers." And he sagaciously puts a query, and offers a suggestion, quite novel in their way, and which we should like to see tried in Georgia. "As slaves can only be imported into Georgia by exporting their full value in productive capital, would it not be a wise policy for this State to keep its money at home and invite intelligent citizens to come here and settle, who will create more wealth and taxable property than an equal number of slaves, and cost us nothing? One hundred thousand white laborers would cost the Commonwealth not a single dollar, whilst they would be worth to it an average of \$750 each." These Slaveholders are so accustomed to value "honest yeomanry" in dollars and cents, that they do not seem to imagine that there is any other mode of appreciating what "constitutes a State."

† In the Address of the Executive Committee to the Non-Slaveholders, the number of slaveholders in the United States was estimated at about 250,000, that is, 10 slaves to each master; but Judge Jay, a member of the Committee, and who prepared the Address, has since shown, that by the census of Kentucky taken in 1848, the average in that State was 22 to each master, and that applying this ratio, "which is obviously too small," to the whole slave region, the result is astounding. The whole number of slaves—men, women, and children—were, by the last census, (1840) 2,487,711. This number divided by 22, gives ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTEEN THOUSAND AND SEVENTY-SEVEN as the sum total of the number of slaveholders in the United States. Should the number of slaves be ascertained by the census to be taken in 1850 to be 3,000,000, the number of slaveholders, by the same calculation, will be 136,363.

Richmond paper hopes that the matter will never again be brought forward to "disturb our harmony and social peace."

Mr. Brown from Mississippi has recently declared on the floor of Congress :

"For myself, I REGARD SLAVERY AS A GREAT MORAL, SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS BLESSING ; A BLESSING TO THE SLAVE, AND A BLESSING TO THE MASTER."

The Rev. Mr. Hilliard, M.C. from Alabama, said recently in debate, of slavery :—" I do not regard it as a moral evil, even in the States where it exists."

A Mr. J. F. G. Mittag, whose letter can be found in the *Charleston Courier*, laments that the founders of the Republic did not include in the Constitution a *moral recognition of Slavery*. He says :—

"But what was still more unfortunate for us, and well calculated to undermine our peculiar institutions—the immorality of Slavery was taught in the nursery, or in primary schools and colleges. Our works on moral philosophy, used in these, are full of declamation against Slavery and slaveholders. Paley's writings, that are still our textbook, denounce Slavery as 'an abominable tyranny,' and destined to disappear with the progress of the Christian religion. Many of our clergy also have been very unsound on this point. Even the creed of a large and powerful religious sect * pronounced our institutions sinful. * * * Let the clergy, the conservators of morals, teach the public, and teach zealously, that Slavery is moral—and on the other hand, that abolition is sinful, and destined, if carried out, to be fraught with the most direful results. Let parents inculcate the same in the nursery and teachers in their schools. Let them, moreover, exclude all books that are against our institutions, and introduce such as support them ; and with our people sound on this subject, we can defy the fanatics of the North. Should they then become a constitutional majority, and legislate us out of the Union, on their own head be the blame. We will be prepared in moral feeling—we will be able to defend our rights."

But, though the slaveholders have not engrafted upon the Constitution "a moral recognition of Slavery," they possess a political power that makes the accusation sound absurdly that "the equilibrium between the two sections in the Government "

* The Presbyterian Church ; but they have struck out the offensive passage.

has been destroyed.* There has never been any equilibrium. The South, though in the minority, has always had a disproportionate weight in representation, in influence, and in offices. Well may Mr. Wentworth exclaim :†—

“ In the Lower House of Congress, the South, with a popular vote of 846,002, has 84 members, while the North, with a vote of 1,934,005, has a representation of only 149 ! The States of New York and Pennsylvania, with a popular vote equal to that of the whole South, are represented by 58 members in the Lower House ; the South by 84 ! The State of Wisconsin, with a vote of 38,166, is represented by two members in the Lower House, while Texas, with a vote of less than one-third—12,654, is represented by the same number ! Illinois, with a vote of 125,468, is represented by 7 members in the Lower House, while Virginia, with a vote of only 91,538, is represented by 15 ! more than double.”

THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, now in session, has been engaged since its opening, the first Monday in December last, almost entirely with the subject of Slavery, and topics growing out of this “ vexed question.” The two prominent political parties are nearly equal, but the Democratic party has a small excess over the Whig party ; while the Free Soil party, consisting of nine members, knit together like Leonidas’ band, have held the balance of power.‡ After spending several weeks in balloting, a slaveholding Democrat was chosen Speaker of the House, and the former Clerk, who, although from a slave State, was not a slaveholder, was reelected. The Committees of the House were constituted by the Speaker so as to meet the claims of the most ultra slaveholding Representatives, and yet were considered as friendly to Liberty as the Committees in the former House, constituted by a Whig Speaker, the representative of a free State.

The majority of the Senate is Democratic, while there are only two members belonging to the Free Soil party,§ and one

* Speech of the late Mr. Calhoun.

† Hon. John Wentworth, M.C. Letter to the *Chicago Democrat*.

‡ The thanks of every true friend of his country are due to these intrepid and high-minded men for their unanimity, perseverance, and indomitable spirit under such trying circumstances. No genuine Free Soiler or Abolitionist will ever forget them.‡

§ Messrs. Hale and Chase.

Independent Whig.* At an early day, Mr. Foote introduced a resolution providing that it is the duty of Congress, at this session, to provide Territorial Governments for Deseret,† California, and New Mexico. Mr. Hale gave notice of an amendment, adding to the resolution the words:—

“Securing to the inhabitants of these Territories all the privileges and liberties guaranteed to the citizens of the North-West Territory by the ordinance of 1787.”

A bill was subsequently reported, providing for the erection of a portion of Texas and New Mexico into a slave State, to be called Jacinto; and for Territorial Governments for California, New Mexico and Deseret, in which no provision is made against the introduction of Slavery.

A debate took place on the motion to print the spirited anti-slavery Resolutions of Vermont, laid before Congress by direction of that State.

Ten years ago, similar resolutions from that State were ordered to be laid upon the table without being read, it being then the first time, it is believed, when either House of Congress had refused to receive, read, and print memorials or resolutions from a sovereign State. Mr. Chase earnestly advocated the motion for the reception and printing of the Resolutions.

Mr. Clay introduced a set of Resolutions, by way of *compromising* the various questions that had arisen on the subject of Slavery. They include the following topics:—

1st. Admitting California as one of the free States of the Union. 2d. The establishment of Territorial Governments by Congress in all the Territory acquired from Mexico, not included in the proposed State of California, without any restriction or condition on the subject of Slavery. 3. Fixing the western boundary of Texas on the Rio del Norte, excluding any portion of New Mexico. 4. Paying the public debt of Texas in consideration of the relinquishment of any claim it has to any part of New Mexico. 5. Prohibiting the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, while Slavery exists in Maryland, without the consent of that State, and of the people of the District,

* Mr. Seward.

† A large tract settled chiefly by Mormons.

and without just compensation to the owners of slaves within the District. 6. Forbidding the slave-trade within the District as respects slaves brought into it from States or places beyond the limits of the District, either to be sold therein as merchandise, or to be transported to other markets. 7. Making more effectual provision for the recovery of fugitive slaves. 8. Asserting that Congress has no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slaveholding States.

Subsequently Mr. Clay made an elaborate speech in defense of his plan of compromise, which was greatly lauded by his friends in Congress, and extensively circulated throughout the country. It met with but little favor from either the ultra slaveholders or the anti-slavery portion of the community.

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, introduced a bill to carry out more effectually his meaning of the provision of the Constitution in relation to fugitives from service or labor.

On the 31st December, Mr. Root introduced in the House of Representatives, the following resolution :—

“Resolved, That the Committee on Territories be instructed to report to this House, with as little delay as possible, a bill or bills, providing a Territorial Government or Governments for all that part of the territory ceded to the United States by Mexico, by the treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo, lying eastward of California, and prohibiting Slavery therein.”

On the 5th February, this resolution was laid upon the table by a vote of 105 to 79. Out of 231 members 184 voted. Some were absent, and others “dodged the question.”* As this was considered by its enemies the *coup de grace* to the WILMOT PROVISIO, we state that thirty-two Northern members voted on this occasion with the ayes.

Mr. Giddings offered the following resolutions :—

“Resolved, That we hold these truths to be self-evident,—that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights to life and liberty ; and that Governments are constituted among men to secure these rights.

“Resolved, That in constituting Governments in any Territory of

* Among the “dodgers” was the Boston representative, Mr. Winthrop.

the United States, it is the duty of Congress to secure the People thereof, of whatever complexion, in the enjoyment of the rights aforesaid."

They were rejected by a vote of 104 to 89, and thus the Declaration of Independence and the Ordinance of 1787 were virtually voted down in the House !

On the 13th February last, the Constitution adopted by the electors of California was laid before both houses of Congress, accompanied with a message from the President of the United States. By the unanimous vote of the convention that formed it, Slavery is prohibited in the State, though we regret that they saw fit to exclude from the privilege of voting all "Indians, Africans, and descendants of Africans." The introduction or settling of free people of color is forbidden. These clauses will, we hope, be stricken out.

Hugh N. Smith, delegated by a Convention held at the city of Santa Fe, New Mexico, September, 1849, to represent that people in the Congress of the United States, presented himself at Washington, and laid before the National Legislature his credentials, accompanied with a copy of the journal of the Convention, including a plan as the basis upon which the people of New Mexico desired the civil government of the territory to be formed. They prefer a Territorial to a State government, provided their rights, as set forth in the instructions to the delegate, can be preserved. Nothing is said on the subject of prohibiting Slavery. The reason is said to be that it was thought the introduction of this question might embarrass their application to Congress. This application is pending before Congress.

The citizens of that portion of Upper California lying east of Sierra Nevada,* settled principally by the Mormons, held a Convention at "The Great Salt Lake City," on the 5th March, 1849, organized a Convention, adopted a Constitution, to be in force until the Congress of the United States shall otherwise

* Snowy Mountains.

provide by law. They have memorialized the Senate and House of Representatives to admit them into the Union, under the name of THE STATE OF DESERET, on an equal footing with the other States, or to provide such other form of government as the "wisdom and magnanimity" of Congress may award. A. W. Babbitt presented himself at Washington, as the delegate of Deseret. This application is before Congress for its decision.

On the 27th February, Mr. Seward presented the memorial of citizens of the Valley of the Rio Grande, praying Congress to erect a new Territory, to be called the Territory of the Rio Grande, in the section east of that river and south of New Mexico, distinct from the province of Texas. It was referred.

Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, introduced a series of resolutions for the adjustment of the question of Slavery, and advocated the admission of a new slave State and a free one together.

On the 1st of March, Mr. Calhoun's speech on the danger to the Union—"its nature, causes and remedy"*—was read by Mr. Mason, Mr. Calhoun being present, in a feeble state of health, taking extensive ultra ground on the Slavery question.

On the 7th March, Mr. Webster made an elaborate speech on the Slavery question, in which he abandoned the ground heretofore taken by him, and went to the extreme verge of the Southern policy, to the astonishment of large portions of the North, and the joy of his new Southern allies.†

* He appeared in the Senate once or twice after this, and engaged in the debates, but on the 31st died, aged 68.

† Mr. Webster soon after received a letter of approval from Boston and its vicinity, signed by 7 or 800 merchants, owners of manufacturing stock, and professional men. We regret to see on the list the names of several whom the community have been accustomed to revere. Among them are the names of Leonard Woods, Moses Stuart, Jared Sparks, and Charles Jackson! The Senate of Massachusetts, however, has rebuked Mr. Webster in a severe manner by passing resolutions couched in words used by him before his apostacy. Subsequently resolutions passed the legislature virtually condemning the course taken by Mr. Webster, and on the previous day, too, that he entered Boston on a visit to his constituents, with only four dissentients in the House and unanimously in the Senate!

In a speech which he made in a Whig Convention at Springfield, Mass., in 1847, he said :—

“There is not a man in this hall who holds to the principles of the Wilmot proviso more firmly than I do. . . I feel some little interest in this matter, sir. Did I not commit myself in 1838 to the whole doctrine, fully, entirely? And I must be permitted to say, that I cannot quite consent that more recent discoverers should claim the merit and take out a patent. I deny the priority of their invention. Allow me to say, sir, it is not their thunder.”

But in his speech of March 7, 1850, he spake thus :—

“I hold Slavery to be excluded from those territories by a law even superior to that which admits and sanctions Slavery in Texas—I mean the law of nature—the law of physical geography—the law of the foundation of the earth. That law settles forever, with a strength beyond all terms of human enactment, that Slavery cannot exist in California and New Mexico. . . If a resolution or a law were now before us to provide a territorial government for New Mexico, I would vote to put into it no prohibition whatever. The use of such a prohibition would be idle as it respects any effect upon the Territory. I would not take pains to reaffirm an ordinance of nature, nor to reenact the will of God. I would put in no Wilmot Proviso for the purpose of a taunt and reproach.”

Mr. Webster, in declining to act on a committee appointed at a Colonization meeting in Boston, several years since, said emphatically :—

“I understand the whole project. IT IS A SCHEME OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS TO GET RID OF THE FREE NEGROES. I WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH IT.”

And in his recent speech he talked in this wise :—

“If any gentleman from the South shall propose a scheme of Colonization, to be carried on by this government upon a large scale, for the transportation of the free colored people to any colony, or to any place in the world, I shall be quite disposed to incur almost any degree of expense to accomplish that object. . . There has been received into the treasury of the United States eighty millions of dollars, the proceeds of the public lands ceded by Virginia which have been already sold; and if the residue shall be sold at the same rate, the whole will amount to more than two hundred millions of dollars. Now, if Virginia and the South see fit to make any proposition to relieve themselves from the burden of their free colored population, they have my free consent that this government should pay them out of these proceeds any sum of money adequate to that end.”

Mr. Butler reported, with amendments, Mason's bill to render more stringent clause 3, sec. 2, art. 4, of the United States Constitution, which constitutes the judges, clerks, and marshals of the U. S., and the seventeen thousand deputy postmasters, and the collectors, as tribunals *without appeal*, for the delivery of anybody who is sworn by anybody, anywhere, to be a fugitive slave. The judge, postmaster, collector, &c., need not be an inhabitant of the State, or hold his office in the State where the victim is seized, but it is sufficient if he is such officer anywhere in the United States.* Mr. Mason, of Virginia, offered an amendment, that if any one should harbor or conceal a fugitive, knowing him to be such, he should be subject to a fine not exceeding \$500, and imprisonment not exceeding six months, and shall pay to the claimant \$1000. In view of this atrocious bill, Horace Mann has said: "The man who can read this bill without having his blood boil in his veins has a power of refrigeration that would cool the tropics." Yet Mr. Webster, in reference to it, said:—

"My friend at the head of the Judiciary Committee has a bill upon that subject now before the Senate. . . I propose to support that bill with all proper authority and provisions in it, to the fullest extent—to the fullest extent!"

No measure ever brought before Congress has produced a more decided outburst of indignant feeling among the great body of people in the free States than this unmerciful and revolting scheme. The idea of making the North a hunting-ground for slaveholders in pursuit of human game, disgusts persons whose moral sense is not well nigh obliterated. Should this proposition become a law, it would lead to kidnapping the free people of the North, on an increased scale. Already, numbers of persons are annually stolen, carried to the

* Mr. Seward took an early opportunity to offer a humane amendment as a substitute, securing to the alleged fugitive the right of jury trial and the habeas corpus, and placing claimant and claimed, in the eye of the law, on equal footing. The subject is still before the Senate.

slave States, and there sold into interminable bondage. Last September, two villains, named McFarlane and States, of Downington, Pa., were convicted of decoying a school-boy to Baltimore for the purpose of selling him as a slave, and were sentenced to five years' imprisonment in the penitentiary at Philadelphia. But, in most cases, the kidnappers escape arrest. In Chester county, a man named Thomas Mitchell, who had formerly resided in Maryland as a free man, as he stated, but who had resided in Pennsylvania twelve years, was seized at midnight in his own house, taken to Baltimore, lodged in jail, and afterward sold to a slave-trader. Many families of free colored people, in the free States, mourn over relatives who have suddenly disappeared, and who, they have reason to believe, have been kidnapped and sold into slavery.

Mr. Clay, in his compromise bill, proposes to allow a jury trial to the kidnapped person, in the State to which he is transferred, if he should happen to be informed of the existence of a law to that effect, and should be able to procure counsel. What a cruel mockery is this !

On the 11th of March, Mr. Seward made a masterly speech in favor of "California, Union and Freedom." No sentiment ever uttered in Congress seemed to produce more astonishment than that contained in the following paragraph in his speech :

"The Constitution regulates our stewardship ; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defense, to welfare, and to liberty. *But there is a higher law than the Constitution which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes.* The territory is a part, no inconsiderable part, of the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the universe. We are his stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secure, in the highest attainable degree, their happiness."

Grave Senators affected to be horrified that a statesman should conceive the idea that the law of the Creator was paramount to human enactments.* One of them who has long

* Several years ago, when pro-slaveryism was more rampant in Boston than it now is, an eminent politician there said "Why, a set of men have sprung up among us who pretend to believe that the Bible is above statute law."—*Horrible dictu.*

aspired to the highest office in the gift of the people, promptly declared that a man who could entertain an opinion like that, ought not to take a seat in such a body ! The papers in the slave interest, and the dough-faced politicians, says a certain writer, are abusing the eloquent speaker for uttering the above noble and Christian sentiment.

But it is not so modern as they think, for Sir William Blackstone, in his "Commentaries on the Laws of England," sect. 2 of the Nature of Laws in General, says :

"This law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries and at all times. No human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all their authority mediately or immediately from this original."

On the 19th, Mr. Hale made an able speech on the Territorial question, answering the allegations brought against the North, and defending the abolitionists. On the 26th, Mr. Chase delivered a strong speech on Clay's compromise resolutions, and declaring his determination to go for "Liberty, Union, and no Compromise." Other able speeches were made by Senators on both sides of the question.

In the House, both southern and northern members have occupied many weeks in speeches in favor of and against slavery, union and compromise. The most distinguished in favor of Freedom were by Messrs. Mann, Root, Campbell, Stevens, Bissell, Giddings, and Wilmot. They were listened to with profound attention, and while the noble sentiments uttered inspired the friends of freedom, they appeared to confound the disunionists. These speeches have been published in pamphlet form, and distributed over the country. The arguments contained in them have not been answered, and may be considered unanswerable. Honor to the patriotic men who have stood up so manfully for the defense of freedom when assailed by its enemies !

Petitions have been presented in both houses of Congress, from all parts of the free States, on subjects connected with the slavery question, and some of them pray that in the event of the slave-trade, and slavery, not being abandoned in the District of Columbia, measures be taken for the removal of the seat of government to a more suitable place. The Senate, by their vote, laying some of these petitions on the table, at first refused to acknowledge the right of petition, but afterward, on the presentation by Mr. Hale of a petition of 1483 women of Dover, N. H., asking that slavery may not be extended by the Congress of the great republic of the West over the territories of New Mexico and California, or any part thereof, it was received and referred, by a vote of 26 to 19. Subsequently, two petitions from Pennsylvania were presented by Mr. Seward, one praying that slavery might be excluded, by positive law, from the territories; and the other, that the right of trial by jury might be secured to alleged fugitives. Both were received and referred, by a vote of 19 to 18, two Senators from the slave States voting in the affirmative, and only one from a free State voting in the negative.* Thus the rule in the Senate, of so many years standing, against the reception of anti-slavery petitions, has been virtually abrogated.

Previous to the assembling of Congress, the subject of a convention of delegates from all the slave States, to meet at Nashville, Tennessee, to "dissolve the Union" in case of the passage of the Wilmot Proviso, had been discussed in the southern newspapers, and had engaged much attention. In some States delegates have been appointed, but in others, strong opposition has been made to the project. In connection with this scheme, the most audacious threats have been thrown out on the floor of Congress by portions of the southern delegations to intimidate northern members from a fearless discharge of duty; and timid or unprincipled men, in and out of Congress,

* Dickinson, of New York.

have sounded the alarm that the Union of the States was in danger if any restriction should be placed on the extension of slavery ; in other words, unless the new territory should be opened to slave emigration. Time out of mind, this has been the ultimate resort of southern obligarchists when some project, to them all-important, was on foot respecting which northern members were in their apprehension refractory. Notwithstanding subservient men were found, in the northern delegations, to repeat the alarm, and to express their willingness to follow the lead of the South, as in years past, yet the rebukes of a few distinguished northern members, of both of the prominent political parties, served to lower the tone of the Hotspurs of the South, and recall to a sense of duty their unstable colleagues. As the discussion proceeded, the southern members themselves became divided in council ; their newspapers threw ridicule upon the threats of disunion, and people of the South, in public meetings, resolved that they would not be parties to such a scheme.

In alluding to a meeting for the choice of delegates to the proposed disunion convention at Nashville, Tenn., the *Forsyth* (Geo.) *Bee* says :

“ It is with shame and mortification we have to record the humiliating fact that the southern meeting, advertised to come off yesterday, at this place, turned out to be a perfect and entire failure.”

In the midst of these exciting and momentous scenes, when the whole country was watching, with interest, the great moral conflict between Freedom and Slavery, on the floor of Congress, and immediately after the great Champion of Slavery, who was soon cut down by the stroke of death, had made his last effort in support of it, a distinguished Northern Senator who might probably have secured the triumph of free principles had he been true to his former professions and to the interests of Freedom, suddenly and unexpectedly succeeded to the leadership

of the Slave Power in the Senate.* The confidence of the friends of freedom having been thus unexpectedly abused, they are impressively taught to "cease from man," and redouble their efforts, trusting in God.

The great struggle in the Senate was on the motion of Mr. Foote to refer Messrs. Bell and Clay's Resolutions to a Committee of THIRTEEN. Mr. Douglass moved to lay the subject on the table, and Mr. Foote remarked that this would be a test vote. The result was, 26 yeas, 28 nays.† Mr. Benton, whose vigorous opposition to the compromising plan entitles him to the gratitude of the friends of freedom, had proposed an amendment, reserving various topics connected with the subject of slavery; and Mr. Clay modified it, with Mr. Benton's consent. When it came up for decision, however, Mr. Clay concluded to retreat from the position he had taken, and which had won temporary sympathy at the North, and oppose giving any instructions to the committee. Mr. Benton withdrew his amendment, and the modification of Mr. Clay went with it. Mr. Benton then, desirous of keeping the main question by itself and to prevent the linking of the California bill with other questions, renewed his original amendment, as follows:

"To withhold from the consideration of the Committee the abolition of slavery in the States, the suppression of the inter-State slave-trade, the abolition of slavery within the forts, dockyards, and arsenals of the United States, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and every subject not specially referred to it."

Mr. Clay renewed his amendment as a substitute, when Mr.

* "Mr. Daniel Webster when in this country, told a Deputation of the Anti-Slavery Society which waited upon him, that Congress had supreme jurisdiction over the question of slavery in the District of Columbia, could prohibit it in all the territories that might be acquired, and could undoubtedly prevent the inter-State slave-trade. He further said, hemmed in as was the slave system of the South, by free States, it must die out. I remember all this, as though it occurred but yesterday; and to think of this man going over body and soul to the South."—*Letter of John Scoble, Esq.*, London, April 4, 1850.

† Mr. Webster voting *nay*. Had he voted *yea*, there would have been a tie, and the Vice-President would have probably decided the question in favor of freedom.

Benton moved to lay the subject on the table, for the purpose of taking up the California bill. The vote stood, 24 yeas and 28 nays. Mr. Hale said he should submit to what God in his providence, and the party in power shall do, though he should resist as long as he constitutionally, fairly, and decorously could. But he warned the Northern men, through whose instrumentality Freedom is destined to be defeated, to be prepared for a warm reception on their return to their constituents. Mr. Clay said :

"Similar warnings were given at the time the famous Missouri question was settled by a majority of only six votes in the House of Representatives, and more exultation, more joy, and more gladness, were not manifested by the people of the United States, upon the announcement of peace with Great Britain, that was concluded at Ghent, than that which animated them upon the compromise of that question. And such, I predict, will be the consequence now. It will be a triumph, not of the South over the North, or of the North over the South, but of the patriotism of the Union, of the best interests of mankind, and of the world, over faction—yes, over the ultra-Abolitionists."*

It was determined not to instruct the committee; and the final vote to refer the Resolutions of Clay and Bell to the "Compromise" committee of 13 was 30 yeas, and 22 nays.†

What this committee would concoct might be easily foreseen, considering that Mangum, Bell, Berrien (*Whigs*), and Mason, King, Downs (*Democrats*)—all represent extreme Southern opinions; while on the part of the North, there are Webster, Cooper, Phelps (*Whigs*), and Cass, Bright, Dickinson (*Democrats*)—every one except Mr. Phelps opposed to the Northern view of the slavery question. The Chairman, Henry Clay, is now, Daniel Webster perhaps not excepted, the most able

* Mr. Clay has been misinformed. The few New-England men, as all surviving cotemporaries well know, who were persuaded to vote for the Missouri Compromise, lost caste among their constituents at once, and were never able to regain their political standing. "Such, I predict, will be the consequence now."

† It will not be forgotten that Mr. Webster's vote which might have killed the Compromise project the previous Thursday—at the test-vote—on this occasion, when it could not affect the result, was recorded with the votes of the Northern Whigs.

and devoted advocate the South has in the Senate. Of the committee of thirteen then, says the *National Era*, the chairman and eleven members are pledged supporters of the slaveholding policy of No-Slavery Restriction—leaving Mr. Phelps as the sole representative of that large majority of the American people who are in favor of the Jeffersonian policy of Restriction!*

It is understood that this committee's Compromise Report—if that can be called a compromise which yields all the main points to one party—will contain the following provisions :

First. Texas may be, under the terms of the resolutions of annexation, divided into additional States, with or without slavery, but Congress not to originate any plan for their admission. This to be left to the people of Texas.

Second. California to be admitted as a State with her present boundaries.

Third. New Mexico and Utah to have Territorial Governments, without the Wilmot Proviso.

Fourth. The boundary between Texas and New Mexico is to be adjusted, and millions of dollars to be paid Texas for relinquishing disputed territory.

Fifth. Mason's Fugitive Bill to be adopted, with an amendment providing that the master shall establish his claim before he goes into another State to recover his slave, and the slave to be entitled to a jury trial on returning to the State from whence he had escaped.

Sixth. Slavery not to be abolished in the District of Columbia, but the slave-trade to be suppressed upon the model of the law lately enforced in Maryland.

TENNESSEE, selected for the meeting of the threatened Disunion Convention, has rebuked its projectors. It is true Mr. Clay's Compromise resolutions were sustained by the Legisla-

* Thomas Jefferson drafted the first Proviso on the subject, March 1st, 1784, when the United States came into the undisputed ownership and sovereignty of the vast region northwest of the Ohio, out of which it was believed future States would be formed, as follows :

"That after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty."—4 *Journals Cong. Confed.*, 374.

It did not pass at once, the assent of every State being then required to pass an act; but it was renewed by Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, in 1787, and adopted by a decided vote. Daniel Webster has eulogized him for the act, and now seeks virtually to nullify it!

ture, but it was by a strict party vote, 35 whigs against 28 democrats. The same body passed resolutions deprecating disunion, and this treasonable scheme is fast passing away. Mr. William H. Polk, brother of the late President, offered a resolution that in case slavery should be prohibited in the new Territories the people of Tennessee would no longer purchase anything of the North. It was soon withdrawn. The *Knoxville Tribune* has lately published a series of efficient articles in favor of emancipation, in which a popular convention on the subject is recommended. It is not surprising therefore, that the people of Shelby County should, as they did not long since, hold a meeting and petition the Legislature to make it a penal offense to introduce a slave into the State for the purpose of selling him.

MARYLAND has passed very severe laws against the free people of color, and yet free principles are making continual advance in that border State. On the introduction into the Legislature of a bill by Mr. Harris to repeal all laws prohibiting the importation of slaves into the State, the *Baltimore Sun*, in opposing it, says :

"The course pursued by Mr. Harris is so decidedly in conflict with progressive principles, that we are a little surprised to find a popular representative in such an attitude. For Maryland to entertain such a project is preposterous."

The New-York *Tribune* says :

"The subject of abolition of slavery in consequence of the impracticability of retaining slaves in servitude, is more frequently alluded to than many would suppose. In fact, there are many slave owners who are not averse to a gradual emancipation, deeming it their ultimate interest. The operation of the causes now increasing in weight will very materially aid in the accomplishment of so desirable an object. Many who have begun to despair, now deem the day not so far distant, when this curse shall be peacefully and surely removed from the Commonwealth. Men may strive against destiny, but they cannot retard or thwart its fulfillment."

And the same paper, April 22d, has the following from its Baltimore Correspondent :

"The subject of Slavery in Maryland has become less exciting in our State since the adjournment of the Legislature. The acts of a few hot-headed slave owners had caused much bitterness of feelings between the friends of Slavery and the advocates of Emancipation, but a reaction has taken place which I think will result in good. The stringent laws enacted in reference to the free people of color are a perfect nullity, and never will be enforced. Public opinion in this city, at least, will not permit the poor negro to be ground into the very earth by the iron tread of the Slavocracy. The friends of Emancipation, who were much disheartened by the strong slave laws passed by our wise legislators, are again looking up into more cheerful prospects of the ultimate attainment of their desired object. The feeling is fast gaining ground that nothing less than a general emancipation can save Maryland from becoming what Eastern Virginia is now in a great measure—a worn-out, wasted land."

KENTUCKY has been the theater of much Anti-Slavery excitement during the past year. The Convention for revising and amending the Constitution of the State, which was alluded to in the last Annual Report, was held in October last. Although the emancipation votes amounted to thirty-five thousand, yet, to the surprise of many, not a single emancipationist was elected to the Convention. The discussions that had taken place, however, had a sensible effect upon that body, as the following extracts from speeches made in the Convention will demonstrate :—

"White labor is the cheapest ; but when the Deity has sent forth his fiat that Slavery is to cease, it will cease. . . The whole civilized world has turned its back upon the African Slave-trade . . . and what is there in the African Slave-trade that is worse than to go into another State and bring slaves from thence, tearing mothers from their children, separating husbands from their wives, without an offense being charged against them ; driving them along in chains as if they were beasts of burden."

Hon. J. R. Underwood, in two speeches, took the ground that Slavery is an evil—that the new Constitution should provide against the importation of slaves, and for their manumission without expatriation.

Mr. Prentice argued, with great force, against forbidding emancipation; and driving out the free blacks, a class of men, he said, who are peaceable, trustworthy, law-abiding citizens. He added :—

"In every slave State there is a maximum of white population which is never passed, but when once attained the white population gradually diminishes, while the disproportion of slaves rapidly increases. This has been more particularly remarked and generally applied to the Lowlands of Virginia. The reason usually given for it is, that the lands have been worn out under the impoverishing influence of slave culture. *But the census proves the same to be equally true of the unworn, still rich lands of Kentucky.* Some of the counties embracing the richest land in the State have actually decreased in white population."

Mr. J. T. Boyle recommended emancipation on the score of economy, because slave labor renders other kinds of labor disreputable.

Mr. M. O. Smith said in substance :—

Slavery cannot be justified either by the law of nature or the law of God, but is maintained by mere force. It is a great moral evil. Not a few think so on their death-beds. There is a consciousness of its guilt even when men attempt to prove it right from the Bible. It degrades labor and builds up an aristocracy. Labor is a blessing and not a curse. When a fair compensation is awarded, labor is honorable. We are all in one sense white negroes. Slavery is a political evil, as is easily seen on a comparison of the North with the South—for example, Ohio and Kentucky—Cincinnati and Louisville. Colonization is not feasible. Ellwood Fisher's statements are fallacious.

On the other hand members in the slaveholding interest uttered strong condemnations of emancipation. A Mr. Clarke avowed sentiments like the following :—

"I am not unwilling to declare here before the State and the world my belief that Slavery, as it exists in the slave States of this Union, elevates the character of the white race, its dignity, its morals, and I trust we shall frame a Constitution that will perpetuate Slavery in this State for all time to come!"

Another person of that stamp, Mr. Garrit Davis, said :—

"Kentucky has upward of 200,000 slaves, worth \$80,000,000, or about one-quarter of her aggregate wealth. What is it that threatens this vast amount of property, and has disturbed its owners in its legal and peaceable enjoyment? During years bygone, before the opposite margin of the Ohio was inhabited, the slaves of Kentucky were contented and happy, and the master was unannoyed and secure in the possession of this property. But the Abolitionist came, seated

himself in our neighborhood, &c. . . Now, in all the border counties the slave knows no contentment, and his master has no assurance of property in him."

Still most of those who were opposed to emancipation signified their dissent from remarks of that character. Mr. Root said:—

"Sir, the finger of God is on the institution."

Mr. Guthrie, the President of the Convention, said:—

"There is a time when Slavery will cease. In the march of population, when white labor becomes cheaper and crowded, slave-labor will yield to it."

Mr. James F. Todd said of Slavery:—

"It was entailed upon us, and we are therefore not responsible for it, but if we do not use all just means to rid ourselves of it we shall be guilty of the sin of its continuance."

Several beneficial changes were made in the Constitution, but the relation between master and slave remains as it was under the old Constitution. The Constitution provides that no slaves shall be emancipated but upon condition that such emancipated slaves be sent out of the State. The new Constitution has received the approval of the people. Notwithstanding this fact we are assured that the cause of emancipation is steadily advancing in this State.

The LEGISLATURES of several of the States, during their last sessions, expressed their views on the questions pending before Congress, as follows:—

MAINE (July 6, 1849).

"Whereas the people of Maine regard slavery with feelings of profound abhorrence; as conflicting with the great principles of Freedom and Free Government, detrimental to political progress, and it ought not to be upheld or sanctioned in the capital of our glorious Union, the very sanctuary of liberty; therefore,

"Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to use their utmost influence to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia by all constitutional means."

The vote in the House was yeas 112, nays 14. In the Senate it was unanimous. About a third of the members of the House are Whigs, and in the Senate all but three are Democrats.

NEW HAMPSHIRE (July, 1849).

In substance as follows :

1. That the people deeply regret the existence of slavery in this Union; as a great social evil, and fraught with danger to the peace and welfare of the nation. 2. That both the opponents of slavery and slaveholding communities have, in periods of excitement, resorted to measures they have opposed and censured, and slaveholding communities have resorted to measures equally deserving of the severest condemnation. 3. That they will respect all the rights which the Constitution guarantees to the slave States. 4. That they are firmly and unalterably opposed to the extension of slavery over any portion of American soil now free. 5. That the Union is dear to the People. And 6. That Congress has the constitutional power to abolish Slavery and the Slave-Trade in the District of Columbia.

VERMONT (Nov. 12, 1849).

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, That Slavery is a crime against humanity, and a sore evil in the body politic, that was excused by the framers of the Federal Constitution as a crime entailed upon the country by their predecessors, and tolerated solely as a thing of inexorable necessity.

Resolved, That the so-called "compromises of the Constitution" restrained the Federal Government from interference with Slavery only in the States in which it then existed, and from interference with the slave-trade only for a limited time, which has long since expired; and that the powers conferred upon Congress by the Constitution to suppress the slave-trade, to regulate commerce between the States, to govern the Territories and to admit new States—powers conferred with an express intention "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity"—may all rightfully be used so as to prevent the extension of Slavery into territory now free, and to abolish Slavery and the slave-trade wherever either exists under the jurisdiction of Congress.

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to resist, by all and every constitutional means, the extension of Slavery in any manner, whether by the annexation to slaveholding Texas of territory now free, or by the admission to the Union of territory already acquired, or which may be hereafter acquired, without an express prohibition of Slavery, either in the Constitution

of each new State asking admission, or in the act of Congress providing for such admission.

Resolved, further, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to support every just and prudent measure for the exclusion of Slavery from the District of Columbia; for the entire suppression of the slave-trade on the high seas, and wherever else Congress has jurisdiction; and, generally, to relieve the Federal Government from all responsibility for the existence, maintenance, or tolerance of Slavery, or the traffic in slaves.

Resolved, further, That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives requested to use their exertions for the speedy organization of a Territorial Government for New Mexico and California, with a provision forever excluding involuntary servitude, except for crime.

RESOLUTIONS RELATIVE TO SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND ON THE HIGH SEAS, AND ON THE APPLICATION OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives, That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives requested to introduce a resolution at its next session, directing the appropriate Committee in each branch of our National Legislature to report a bill to prohibit the traffic in slaves in the District of Columbia, and on the high seas;—also a bill to repeal all laws that legalize Slavery in the District of Columbia; and that on said resolution they demand the yeas and nays.

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their influence by direct vote, whenever an opportunity shall occur, to procure the application of the Ordinance of 1787 to all newly acquired territory belonging to the United States.

MASSACHUSETTS (April 27, 1850).

Whereas, The people of Massachusetts, acting under a solemn sense of duty, have deliberately and repeatedly avowed their purpose to resist the extension of Slavery into the National Territories, or the admission of new slave States into the Union, and for these ends, to apply, in every practical mode, the principles of the Ordinance of 1787; also, to seek the abolition of Slavery and the Slave-Trade in the District of Columbia, and the withdrawal of the power and influence of the General Government from the support of Slavery, so far as the same may be constitutionally done; and whereas, the important questions now before the country, make it desirable that these convictions should be reaffirmed; Therefore

Resolved, That the people of Massachusetts earnestly insist upon the application, by Congress, of the Ordinance of 1787, with all possible sanctions and solemnities of law, to the Territorial possessions of the Union, in all parts of the continent, and for all coming time.

Resolved, That the people of Massachusetts cherish the Union with unabated attachment; that they will support the Constitution;

that appreciating the inestimable benefits flowing from it, they believe it better for all parties and sections, with reference to any existing evils, to wait and work patiently under and through the Constitution, than to destroy it; and they have no doubt that they hold these sentiments in common with overwhelming majorities of the people of these United States; but, in any event, they will follow their principles, deterred by no threats of disunion, and no fear of consequences.

Resolved, That the integrity and permanence of American power on the Pacific Ocean, the increase of our commerce and wealth, the extension of our institutions, and the cause of human freedom on this continent, require the immediate admission of California into this Union, with her present Constitution, without reference to any other question or measure whatever.

Resolved, That the sentiments of the people of Massachusetts, as expressed in their legal enactments, in relation to the delivering up of fugitive slaves, remain unchanged; and, inasmuch as the legislation necessary to give effect to the clause of the Constitution, relating to this subject, is within the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, we hold it to be the duty of that body to pass such laws only, in regard thereto, as will be sustained by the public sentiment of the free States, where such laws are to be enforced, and which shall especially secure to all persons, whose surrender may be claimed, as having escaped from labor and service in other States, the right of having the validity of such claim determined by a jury in the State where such claim is made.

Resolved, That the people of Massachusetts, in the maintenance of these, their well known and invincible principles, expect that all their officers and representatives will adhere to them, at all times, on all occasions, and under all circumstances.

The above passed the Senate with only four dissentients, and in the House unanimously.

CONNECTICUT (June 20, 1849).

Resolved, That Congress has full constitutional power to prohibit slavery in the Territories of the United States by legislative enactment, and that it is the duty of Congress to pass, without unnecessary delay, such strict and positive laws as will effectually shut out slavery from every portion of the Territories of New Mexico and California.

Resolved, That the existence of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia is a national disgrace, which Congress has full constitutional power to remove, and that Congress should use this power without unnecessary delay."

And in substance the following :

3. That they will abide by the compromises relating to Slavery to the letter, but they will oppose any and every measure of compromise

by which any portion of our free territory may be given up to the encroachments of Slavery. 4. That they will stand by the integrity of the Union. 5. That it is the duty of all to "repel indignantly every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest." 6. That they do not make a sectional issue, as a very large majority of the white inhabitants of the slaveholding States are non-slaveholders, who need, and shall enjoy, the privilege of emigrating to the new Territories without being followed "by an institution which is every way hostile to freedom and which so effectually contributes to degrade the toil and debase the life of the free laborer." 7. That their Senators and Representatives be instructed to vote, "in every stage of the question, in favor of the incorporation of the fundamental principles of the Jeffersonian ordinance of 1787,"—for the abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade in the District of Columbia—and against the admission of another slaveholding State.

RHODE ISLAND (Jan. 1850).

The General Assembly passed resolutions to the following effect :

1. That having long since abolished slavery within their own borders, they look with gratification and hope to see the time when it will be abolished in the States of our Confederacy, and throughout the world. 2. That they trust their Senators and Representatives will use their influence to have slavery and the slave-trade abolished in all places within the jurisdiction of Congress, and its extension prevented in territories now free. 3. That they welcome into the Confederacy the new State of California, and that any attempt to exclude her because she has prohibited slavery, will be a violation of the true spirit of the Constitution. 4. That it is the duty of every patriot and philanthropist to contribute to the preservation of the Union by all means not involving a sacrifice of honor or principle, or a violation of the Constitution. 5. That the preservation of the Union is of paramount importance to all temporary or local interests.

NEW YORK (Feb. 1850).

In substance as follows :

1. That laws should be passed that will effectually and forever put an end to the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. 2. That they will oppose, by all constitutional means, the extension of slavery over the territory acquired from Mexico. 3. That the extension of human slavery, or the jurisdiction of Texas over any part of New Mexico, should be firmly resisted. 4. That California should be admitted into the Union, with her present Constitution. 5. That the people of New York will oppose all attempts to effect a dissolution of the Union.

NEW JERSEY (March 21, 1850).

That the Union of the States is of inestimable value. That the advice of Washington deserves profound respect. That they deprecate any action, in Congress or elsewhere, to alienate one section of the country from another; and that the delegation in Congress are requested to vote in reference to a rigid construction of the Constitution, &c.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The last resolution adopted by this State, relative to Slavery, was in 1847, as follows :

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to vote against any measure whatever by which territory will accrue to the Union, unless as a part of the fundamental law upon which any compact or treaty for this purpose is based, slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, shall be prohibited forever.

Similar resolutions were introduced during the winter of 1849, but were postponed indefinitely. They were also introduced the past winter, and were disposed of in the same way.

Gov. Johnston, in his message of March 22, 1850, gives a full recital of the history of Pennsylvania legislation on the subject of slavery, and vindicates the State from the charges brought against the Free States by the Legislatures of Virginia and Georgia.

OHIO.

The Democratic Convention passed the following resolution, January 8, 1850 :

Resolved, That the people of Ohio, now, as they always have done, look upon the institution of slavery, in any part of the Union, as an evil, as unfavorable to the full development of the spirit and practical benefits of free institutions; and that, entertaining these sentiments, they will at the same time feel it to be their duty to use all power clearly given by the national compact, to prevent its increase, to mitigate, and finally to eradicate the evil.

The Whig State Convention, on the 6th May, 1850,

Resolved, That in all territorial governments hereafter organized by Congress, we here reiterate the principle declared by the Whig State

Convention of 1843, "that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude therein; otherwise than for the punishment of crime."

INDIANA.

The following resolution was passed at the late session of the Legislature of Indiana, a few days before its adjournment :

That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, so to cast their votes, and exert their influence, as to have engrafted upon any law that may be passed for the organization of the territory recently acquired from Mexico, a provision forever excluding from such territory, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party has been duly convicted.

WISCONSIN.

The Legislature preceding the last passed resolutions requesting their Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote for the Wilmot Proviso in the organization of any territorial government in California and New Mexico. During the late session, similar resolutions were introduced, but were so trammelled with amendments that they were not passed. Last January, the Governor of this State recommended to the Legislature that their determination to resist the extension of slavery be reiterated. The Senate adopted strong resolutions to the following effect :

That we instruct the delegation in Congress to support every just and prudent measure for the exclusion of slavery from the District of Columbia ; for the entire suppression of the slave-trade on the high seas, and wherever else Congress has jurisdiction ; and generally to release the General Government from all responsibility for the existence, maintenance, or toleration of slavery ; to use their influence to procure the application of the Ordinance of 1787 to all territory belonging to the United States ; and to oppose the admission of any new State into the Union, when the laws or constitution thereof create or tolerate slavery.

It is hardly necessary to describe American Slavery. Its character and deeds proclaim themselves. Still its new developments deserve passing notice. Instead of palliating its criminality and baseness, they expose its inherent turpitude.

Democracy and Christianity alike eschew it, and it is left to republicans and divines of the Southern school to vindicate it as the corner-stone of their political edifice, and as a Bible institution. Out of the multitude of well-authenticated facts of recent occurrence, we have room only for the following :

In St. Louis, Mo., nine negroes were recently brought before a court charged with having resided in the State without license. Five were sentenced to receive each twenty lashes on the bare back, three to receive ten lashes, and the ninth had his case continued.

In North Carolina, a slave, not long since, was whipped to death.

At Charleston, S. C., about 80 colored persons are confined in the workhouse, who are all permitted to herd together, there being no distinction made with regard to the enormity of their offenses. An officer attempted to remove a woman, but was resisted by a slave named Nicholas, who said she should not go because she was of his family. Other negroes joined him, who finally overcame those appointed to keep order, escaped from the jail and scattered themselves through the town. Two of them on being recaptured and tried, were found guilty of wounding an officer, and sentenced to be hung.

In Maryland a free boy was recently sold for a definite period into slavery out of the State ; such are never known to return. A free colored man residing near Elkton, Md., sent for his son, also a freeman, living in Wilmington, Del., to visit him. He took passage in the cars to Elkton, accompanied by another colored free man, with the intention of proceeding directly to the abode of his sick parent. But immediately after leaving the cars they were arrested by a constable, taken before a magistrate and fined \$20 for the offense of coming into Maryland ! Not being able to pay so much they were committed to prison.

The following remarkable incident exhibits the cruelty of the slave system, while it shows the ingenuity and desperate determination of its victims to escape from it :

A few months ago, a slave in a Southern city managed to open a correspondence with a gentleman in a Northern city, with a view to effect his escape from bondage. Having arranged the preliminaries, he paid somebody \$40 to box him up, and mark him, " This side up, with care," and take him to the Express office, consigned to his friend at the North. On the passage, being on board of a steamboat, he was accidentally turned head downward, and almost died with the rush of blood to the head. At the next change of transportation, however, he

was turned right side up again; and after twenty-six hours' confinement, arrived safely at his destination. On receiving the box, the gentleman had doubts whether he should find a corpse or a free man. He tapped lightly on the box, with the question "All right?" and was delighted to hear the response, "All right, sir." The poor fellow was immediately liberated from his place of living burial.*

After the above occurrence two other slaves attempted to escape from Richmond in a similar way, but were discovered at the Express office, and replaced under the iron system from which they had attempted, at the risk of life, to escape.

In a recent letter from the Rev. J. W. C. Pennington, dated London, he says :

"Last summer an American vessel arrived here from a Southern port in the United States, having on board a fugitive slave. During the passage he was discovered, and was at once made a close prisoner. The ship unloaded and again loaded, at St. Catharine's Dock, and at the end of four or five weeks she was cleared and put to sea for the United States, South, with the poor fellow on board. The fact of the slave being confined on board was known to the English custom-house officer, who confessed it to Dr. Pennington, excusing himself by saying, "the captain was a young man, and it was his first trip. He showed me a letter from the slave's master, which had been sent by a steamer to overtake him at London, informing him that he knew the slave was on board his ship; and threatening to proceed against him on his return if he did not bring the slave with him. I did not want to get into any difficulty in the matter, although I knew that the colored man was kept in close confinement." And this poor American slave, who had periled so much to obtain his freedom, was taken back into hopeless bondage, from the spot within five minutes walk of the place where Lord Mansfield pronounced his memorable decision."

We pass now to the city of Washington and its vicinity, the national domain, where slavery does not, if any where, constitutionally exist, but where it actually revels in its diabolism—in the presence of the government—legislative, judicial and executive—of the representatives of foreign nations, and "before the sun."

A free colored Methodist preacher, pastor of a colored church, in Winchester, Va., was sent to Staunton, to be cured of a temporary insanity, occasioned by having been over-excited and worn-down,

*His name has received an addition, since this occurrence, and he is now known as Henry Box Brown.

during a revival of religion, and on his return, passing through the city of Washington, he was taken up, carried before a magistrate, who is a local preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in disregard of his certificate, was committed to jail as a runaway slave. He was saved from being sold into slavery to pay the jail fees, by a citizen who providentially became informed of the case. But it was not until 'the brother preacher,' had refused discharging the prisoner, on sufficient evidence, and he had been brought by writ of habeas corpus, before Judge Cranch, who instantly liberated him.

In the neighboring State of Virginia, the foreman of a press-room at Richmond shot a colored carrier because he would not cross his hands, so that the brute might tie him for the purpose of whipping him. The ball entered the poor fellow's thigh, causing a painful and dangerous wound.

A correspondent of the *Tribune* writing from Washington says :

"The day before yesterday I saw two white men riding in a buggy, with two women riding behind them, with their backs to the men, so placed that if they had moved, or neglected to hold on, they would have fallen off; they sat on the sharp corner of the seat. The vehicle was going over Seventh-street bridge, toward the wharves. The women were just as they had been picked up from their daily labor, doubtless sold to the distant South, far from every creature they ever knew, and in all probability sent off without ten minutes' warning. Those here who are used to this kind of work may like it; I cannot help wishing that it had ceased to exist."

A slave woman, a member of the Methodist Church, was put into the jail at Washington—which is used as a sort of slave-market—not for any crime, but that her master might the more readily find a purchaser, and under peculiar circumstances of cruelty—the woman expecting to be confined in a few weeks.

A negro man, named Edward Brooks, was committed to jail as a runaway, and advertised. He claimed to be free, referred to citizens in Washington as witnesses in his favor, produced a pass from the cashier of the Bank of Virginia, stating that he was free, and had lost his free-papers, and no person set up a claim of ownership. Notwithstanding all this, the U. S. Marshal for the district notifies the owner or owners, "if any," and in case none appears, Brooks is to be sold to pay jail fees.

This is one of many cases, continually occurring, at the Capital of this Republic.*

Drayton and Sayres, who were inculpated in the attempt to remove seventy-seven men, women and children in the Pearl, a coasting vessel, from Washington to a free State, still lie in jail at Washington, and are as comfortable as men can expect to be under such circumstances. They enjoy the good will of the keepers and prisoners, and all would be glad to see them released from confinement. Capt. Drayton is in good spirits, and manly in his behavior. No further judicial proceedings are in contemplation in this case. No human power but Congress can now afford relief. When the sentiment of the country becomes sufficiently anti-slavery, it will operate on that body speedily, and then the prison doors will soon fly open. Here is an additional motive to renewed exertions to abolitionize the country. Meantime deep sympathy is felt for the prisoners. The friends of the slave will not forget them in their bonds.

The feelings of the people in the free States have been recently outraged by a fiendish instance of cruelty near Washington. It seems that the notorious slave-traders, Bruin and Hill, caught up a young female, with a view to speculate in 'bones and sinews' and the 'honor of woman,' imprisoned her, and failing to obtain what they deemed a sufficient sum, sent her to the far South to undergo hopeless slavery, and a doom worse than death. The first intelligence her afflicted mother had of the tragedy, came in the following letter from her doomed child :

To Mrs. NANCY CARTWRIGHT, New York :†

ALEXANDRIA, Jan. 22, 1850.

My Dear Mother :—I take this opportunity of writing you a few lines, to inform you that I am in *Bruin's Jail*, and Aunt Sally and all

* Mr. Crowell, M.C., of Ohio, proposes to introduce at an early day, bills with reference to the abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade, in the District of Columbia—the acts to be in force from and after next July 4th!

† Mrs. C. is a highly esteemed, pious woman, known to many families in

of her children, and Aunt Hagar and all her children, and grandmother is almost crazy. My dear mother, will you please to come on as soon as you can? I expect to go away very shortly. Oh, mother! my dear mother, come now and see your distressed and heart-broken daughter once more. Mother! my dear mother, do not forsake me, for I feel desolate. Please to come now.

Your daughter,

EMILY RUSSELL.

P. S.—If you do not come as far as Alexandria, come to Washington, and do what you can.

A friend addressed a letter to the slave-trading firm, on behalf of the mother, requesting to be informed what price they would take for Emily. The reply, rendered into English, was as follows:

ALEXANDRIA, Jan. 31, 1850.

Dear Sir:—When I received your letter I had not bought the negroes you spoke of, but since that time I have bought them. All I have to say about the matter is that we paid very high for the negroes, and cannot afford to sell the girl Emily for less than **EIGHTEEN HUNDRED DOLLARS**. This may seem a high price to you, but Cotton being very high, consequently Slaves are high. We have two or three offers for Emily from gentlemen from the South. *She is said to be the finest looking woman in this country.* As for Hagar and her seven children, we will take \$2,500 for them. Sally and her four children, we will take for them \$2,800. You may seem a little surprised at the difference in prices, but the difference in the negroes makes the difference in price. We expect to start South with the negroes on the 8th February, and if you intend to do anything you had better do it soon.

Yours, respectfully,

BRUIN & HILL.

Within a short time after this, the death of the poor girl was announced, she having died on her way to the Southern market.

The inter-state slave-trade, a disgraceful traffic never contemplated by the founders of the Republic, is carried on extensively, while Southern planters affect to look upon the slave-trader as being so odious that he is not entitled to associate with them. They even decry the foreign slave-trade, which our laws pronounce piratical, and the President of the United

New York. She purchased her own freedom, and afterward redeemed from bondage some of her children by the avails of her industry, aided by friends.

States, himself a large slaveholder, in his first Message to Congress, called special attention to its enormities. And yet, slaveholders, with few exceptions, including the President, Heads of Departments, members of Congress, ministers of different denominations, etc., are constantly buying and selling slaves, to supply casualties or improve the stock. It is notorious that slave-traders take gangs of slaves to Washington before the adjournment of Congress, to supply the Senators and Representatives with slaves to take home with them. "The receiver is as bad as the thief."

We find in a city paper the following :—

"The United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Louisiana has advertised to sell, at public sale, in New Orleans, on the 30th instant, FOUR HUNDRED AND NINETY-THREE SLAVES, of both sexes and all ages, from infants to old age. Among the number is one old man called 'Samson,' aged 111 years."

Similar sales, though not often in so large numbers, are advertised in the Washington papers, and papers in the slave States, weekly. At Richmond, Va., and many other cities and towns, regular sales are held. What will a future age think of this inhuman practice?

When Andrew Stevenson, our minister at the court of St. James, was taunted by Daniel O'Connell with belonging to a State that was notorious for breeding slaves for the far-South market, he indignantly denied the accusation; and when the late Charles Hammond, editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, asserted in 1839, that slave-breeding "was a business in Eastern Virginia, a matter of pecuniary calculation," he was reviled beyond measure. Now, it seems, the fact is admitted by Mr. Meade, M. C. from Virginia, in a pamphlet circulated by him during the present Session of Congress. In it he says :—

"VIRGINIA HAS A SLAVE POPULATION OF NEAR HALF A MILLION, WHOSE VALUE IS CHIEFLY DEPENDENT ON SOUTHERN DEMAND."

Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, M. C. of Pennsylvania, in his speech

in the House of Representatives, February 20, 1850—a speech that caused a vibration through the Virginia delegation—alluded to this confession, in a very plain but eloquent manner, as follows :—

“Let us pause a moment over this humiliating confession. In plain English, what does it mean? That Virginia is now only fit to be the breeder, not the employer of slaves. That she is reduced to the condition that her proud chivalry are compelled to turn slave-traders for a livelihood! Instead of attempting to renovate the soil, and by their own honest labor compelling the earth to yield her abundance; instead of seeking for the best breed of cattle and horses to feed on her hills and valleys, and fertilize the land, the sons of that great State must devote their time to selecting and grooming the most lusty sires and the most fruitful wenches, to supply the slave barracoons of the South. And the learned gentleman pathetically laments that the profits of this genteel traffic will be greatly lessened by the circumscription of Slavery! This is his picture, not mine.”

The last of Mr. Clay's Compromise Resolutions reads as follows :—

“*Resolved*, That Congress has no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slaveholding States; but that the admission of slaves brought from one into another of them, depends exclusively upon their own particular laws.”

JOHN JAY, one of the founders of the Republic, and its first Chief Justice, uttered the following language on the subject :*

“To me, the constitutional authority of the Congress to prohibit the migration and importation of slaves into any of the States, does not appear questionable.

“The *first* article of the Constitution specifies the legislative powers committed to the Congress. The 9th section of that article has these words: ‘The *migration* or *importation* of such persons as any of the *now existing* States shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.’

“I understand the sense and meaning of this clause to be, that the power of the Congress, although competent to prohibit such migration and importation, was not to be exercised with respect to the *then existing* States (and them only) until the year 1808, but the Congress were at liberty to make such prohibition as to any *new* State which might in the mean time be established. And, further, that from and after *that* period, they were authorized to make such prohibition as to *all* the States, whether *new* or *old*.”

* See Appendix, for Jay's letter in full.

The arrogance of the Slave Power is insufferable. Not content with having held the scepter of government, enjoyed its patronage, and extended their 'domestic institution,' *ad libitum*, they seek to trample upon the rights and feelings of Northern men, (as they think) with impunity. To such an extent has this been done that they have attempted to a great extent to array the North against the South, in a geographical sense. The hundred thousand slaveholders speak of themselves *as the South*, forgetting that even the non-slaveholding white people in the slave States vastly outnumber them. But it is time for non-slaveholders, at both the South and North, to reflect that the contest now going on is a *slaveholding* and not a Southern or sectional question. Slavery is equally detrimental to the non-slaveholders of the South, as it is to the North. It disgraces and injures every freeman in the country, and consequently the country itself. The arrogance of this aristocracy then should be considered as offensive to the non-slaveholder of the South as it is to his Northern brethren.

A newspaper, published in Georgia, denounces a school-book, entitled "First Book of History," written by a popular author at the North, whose cognomen is Peter Parley, because in speaking too favorably, undoubtedly, of the five Southern Atlantic States, the following sentences appear :—

"The negroes are generally well treated ; that is, they have enough to eat, drink, and wear, and are not often required to labor beyond their strength. But the system of slavery is not conducive to the happiness either of the white people or the negroes. . . I hope the time will soon come when there will be no slaves in our country."

The Georgia editor, commenting upon the barbarous and insane sentiment of this heedless historian, utters its wrath as follows :—

"Thus are our children to be taught to look upon the ancient and scriptural institution of slavery as an evil, and a thing accursed, and to sigh in unison with the author of their school-books, for the time soon to come '*when there will be no slaves in our country*.' . . Such books should be condemned as incendiary publications, and driven from our

schools and from our borders." The author is then compared to "the serpent coiled among flowers, and striking the tender hand of childhood, stretched innocently forth to gather the flowers that shelter it," and the whole South is invoked to be on its guard against abolitionism in disguise.

A northern traveler named J. M. Barrett, who went to South Carolina for the purpose of getting statistical information for a *Gazetteer*, and who was suspected of being an incendiary, was arrested, committed, and afterward indicted for circulating publications that in the judgment of the court and jury blasphemed the institution of Slavery. It seems that a parcel of printed papers signed "*Brutus*" were addressed to him, inclosed in envelopes, with a request that he would drop them into different post-offices along his route. These papers were written by a Carolinian residing in Ohio, and addressed to non-slaveholders, and drew a comparison between free and slave labor. The postmaster delivered these letters to Mr. Barrett, soon after which the "Committee of Vigilance and Safety" proceeded to search Mr. Barrett on suspicion that they were "incendiary papers." They seized, broke open and read them. A letter addressed to one John Edward Thompson was known to be in the post-office, which it was supposed Barrett was authorized to take out; but on his declining to receive the letter, the committee demanded it of the postmaster, who very properly declined violating the law which forbade him delivering letters to any one but the person addressed or his agent, and was thereupon arrested and required to enter into a recognizance for his appearance at court, and also to produce the paper. He plead that he was a sworn officer of the Government, had given a bond and security for the faithful discharge of his duty, that before the next court he was bound to forward the letter, if uncalled for by the person to whom it was addressed, to the Department at Washington. Mr. Legg, the postmaster, was therefore committed to jail. By advice of counsel he finally complied, and gave a bond to appear and produce the letter. Mr. Bobo, counsel for the postmaster, and the post-

master himself, addressed the Department for information, and the following are the replies :

P. O. DEPARTMENT, APPOINTMENT OFFICE, }
July 24, 1849. }

SIR—In answer to yours of the 10th, you are informed that attempts have been made in Congress to pass laws to prevent the circulation of what were termed "incendiary publications," but no such law was ever passed. The Postmaster-General is therefore powerless in the matter, and must leave the whole subject to the discretion of postmasters, under the authority of the State Governments.

Very respectfully yours, &c., &c.,

FITZ HENRY WARREN, 2d Asst. P. M. Gen.

To SIMPSON BOBO, Esq., P. M., Spart. Dist., S. C.

P. O. DEPARTMENT, }
July 30, 1849. }

DEAR SIR — Yours of the 11th inst., informing me of your imprisonment by the authority of South Carolina, for declining to deliver a letter, which you held as Postmaster, to any one but the person to whom the same was addressed, or to his order, was duly received.

As the matter now stands, it would seem to involve a question of law, and possibly, a conflict of jurisdiction proper to be settled by the legal tribunals. It has therefore been referred to the Attorney-General of the United States, who will communicate to you the proper course to be taken on the subject.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your humble servant,

J. COLLAMER, Postmaster-General.

To GEO. W. H. LEGG, Esq., P. M., Spartanburgh C. H.

Mr. Amos Kendall, former P. M. General, on complaint, though by birth a Northern man, had obsequiously issued a circular to the postmasters in the Southern States, directing them not to circulate incendiary publications through the post-offices in those States. The *Charleston Mercury* says :

"We should suppose that if a postmaster can suppress a letter or document, he might, for the same reasons which justify its suppression, carry it into a court, in furtherance of the criminal laws of a State. But whether the Postmaster-General shall pursue this course or not, we have no idea that this State will flinch from protecting itself against the flagitious conduct of the Post-Office or its agents within its limits. If her laws are not clear or strong enough for her protection, they will be made so. If the Federal Government thinks proper to attempt to shield its officers with privileges and immunities incompatible with the peace of the State, let it do so. One of two things will occur : they will have either to leave the service of the

General Government, or suffer the penalties of our State laws, though life itself should be the forfeit."*

Mr. Barrett gave bail in the sum of one thousand dollars, returned to his friends in Indiana to procure testimony, and while there died of a disease brought on by long confinement within the damp and unwholesome walls of a southern prison, and fell "a victim to the dark and bloody spirit of Slavery, whose path is strewn with human lives, and crushed hopes, and bleeding affections, and the fearful aggregation of every human woe and misery."

There are intelligent and excellent men at the South, who see and acknowledge the evils of Slavery, and who sincerely desire its abolition. This has been the case from the beginning. In former times some uttered their opinions freely, whose lips are now sealed; in most cases, because they stand in awe of the political and moneyed men who defend Slavery from interested motives. Some speak out with considerable boldness, and are helping on the emancipation that is surely approaching. Instead of joining in the cry at the South, which often finds an echo at the North, that abolitionism has retarded

* This chivalrous State is thus alluded to by "J. L.," a writer in the *N. Y. Evening Post* of April 22, 1850, who quotes from the History of South Carolina, by one of her own sons, David Ramsay, M.D.: "South Carolina and Georgia were obtained as territory by conquest over the people who occupied it, and who, after pledging their faith to the common cause, had traitorously turned their backs upon independence, without punishment, or even an acknowledgment of the wrong they had done. And now the sons of these conquered and forgiven traitors are allowed to dictate to the nation." South Carolina not only tramples upon the North, but upon the Declaration of Independence, also. At the celebration of the Fourth of July, at Orangeburgh, in this State, it is boastingly said, "the Declaration of Independence was *not* read, but the Address of the Southern members of Congress was substituted in its place." The following toast was subsequently drank: "The Southern Address.—The first step toward a second 'Declaration of Independence.'" And a bill was introduced into the Legislature of South Carolina, imposing a fine of \$1,000 and twelve months' imprisonment, upon any postmaster who shall knowingly deliver to any person any written or printed paper, or picture, drawing, or engraving, calculated to disturb the peace of the people in relation to the slave population thereof. President Jackson, himself a South Carolinian, knew how to deal with these nullifiers.

the emancipation of the slaves, and made the system more stringent, they frankly confess that the agitation has been beneficial alike to the North and South, and to the enslaved.

S. M. Janney, a member of the Society of Friends, was indicted last year, in Loudon county, Va., for publishing the first number of a series of articles in review of the work of Rev. W. A. Smith, in behalf of Slavery. The Court dismissed the indictment, having probably ascertained, says the *National Era*, that Thomas Ritchie, John Hampden Pleasants, and Ex-Governor M'Dowell were arrayed on the same side.*

A public discussion has been held at Hancock Court-House, Va., on the following question :—

"Whether the speedy adoption of the Wilmot proviso, by Congress, would be conducive to the best interests and welfare of our common country?"—between Mr. A. G. Dessellem, of Ohio, and Mr. J. G. Marshall, of Virginia. Mr. D. showed how the vast majority of the South are tyrannized over, by a handful of slaveholders. His appeal is well-adapted to raise the non-slaveholders of the South from their knees to their feet, that they may assert their rights while they assert the rights of the slaves."

A writer in the *National Intelligencer* of March 2, 1850, under the signature of MARYLAND, and who is understood to be an eminent citizen of Baltimore, writes in the following strain, on the topic of the day, in an appeal headed "FRIENDS OF THE UNION TO THE RESCUE!"

"Slavery in the United States was an accident, and fell within the scope of commercial interest. It has subsisted, ever since its introduction, upon inducements of interest. . . . Nothing is more certainly true than that the instinct or characteristic tendencies of Anglo-Saxon association is averse to a perpetuity of slave institutions. . . . If an evil (Slavery); what excuse can any State of the Union give—free or slave—for inflicting it upon a new population—for incorporating it into a new society? Is not that question, good or evil, an open question to the discussion of every citizen in the land? Is there a slaveholder in this Confederacy, or the inhabitant of a slave State, who, believing social Slavery to be a curse or

* Mr. Janney's Review published at length in the *National Era* of October 18th, 1849.

an evil thing, could maintain himself before the world as a wise or a just statesman, whilst he persuades and insists upon, and, by all means in his power, contrives the infliction of this curse or evil upon any brotherhood or dependency of his fellow-citizens in any new or remote section of the National domain? There can be but one answer to this question, consistent with the good sense of him to whom it is addressed. But again—why should we suppose this question, of the good or evil of Slavery, a point of debate only between North and South? Is it not a question which everywhere raises conflicting opinions in the South itself? . . .

"We know the South well enough to believe that if they had adopted the opinion that Slavery was a great evil to the Territories, and had found motives to bring the restriction or prohibition of it within the scope of their policy, they would have had no great difficulty with the logic of the matter to demonstrate the constitutional power. I say this with all deference and respect to the integrity of the South. Their habit of analysis and synthesis is an idiosyncrasy."

"Maryland" then quotes at length from the speeches of Randolph, Bolling, Marshall, Chandler, Berry, Faulkner, and McDowell in the debates in the House of Delegates of Virginia in the winter of 1832, respecting "the blighting, withering curse" upon their land, "because Virginia may be considered an authoritative exponent of Southern feeling then, as she is now." He adds:

"Shall one sincere and thoughtful citizen of the United States now be put under the ban of public censure for thinking Slavery an evil? Shall this Union be destroyed because *many* sincere men think it an evil? . . . The *People*, a distinct body from the politicians, are turning the subject over in their minds. The friends of the Union—friends in all extremes—are about to fall into spontaneous array, and will come forth if this matter be not soon settled. They will come presently in a great ground-swell, which will lift every agitating, declamatory politician off his feet, and land him, perhaps, amongst the wreck and offal of the beach. There are signs of this."

A sensible writer in the *Kentucky Examiner*, who is, we understand, a mechanic, says:

"No expression is more common among pro-slavery men than this: 'That agitation has fixed tighter the fetters of the slave, and thrown back Emancipation half a century.' . . . This favorite doctrine of pro-slavery men is as false in philosophy as it is unfounded in fact. . . . Slavery is a relic of barbarism and paganism, and has within it no elements of inherent strength to resist the onslaught, which civi-

lization and Christianity are constantly making on it. . . . The religious condition of the slaves is no worse but far better than in past years. A far greater number are brought under religious instruction than formerly. . . . The improved condition of the slaves is not confined to Kentucky. In the slave States of the extreme South, there is also a marked improvement. . . . Some fifteen years since, gangs of negro and mulatto women might be seen at work every day in the streets of New Orleans, under supervision of a white driver, flourishing a formidable whip. . . . This semi-barbarous practice has been abandoned.

"The other doctrine of pro-slavery men against which we enter our protest, is this:—'That legal emancipation has been thrown back indefinitely by the anti-slavery discussion.' Without a shadow of proof to sustain it, this must be taken as a mere assertion, and as such, valued for what it is worth."*

In a paper published at Wilmington, Delaware, we find the following:

"**TRAITORS TO LIBERTY.**—Observe all those who advocate the prostitution of the principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence to the slave power. Who are they? What are they? Are they Republicans? We go against meddling with Slavery in the States where it now exists, but we say no more extension of Slavery, no admission of any more slave States into the Union, no Slavery in the District of Columbia—either remove Slavery or remove the Seat of Government. We can enter into the feelings of slaveholders who have been raised with their slaves, who treat them kindly and never think of wronging them. But the Northern dough-face is the meanest wretch that we can imagine. A few of these ought to change places with some slaves for a few years, and taste the sweets of Slavery, and feel the slave-driver's lash, but save even them from having their wives and little ones sold and parted from them forever."

Hon. Reverdy Johnson of Baltimore, in a letter to the Whigs of Wilmington, Del., utters the following language:

"The laborer, with us, in every branch of human industry, should be made to receive more, much more than a bare sufficiency to support life. He should be in a condition, by economy and industry, to educate his children and secure himself in his old age from want. He

* Rev. R. L. Stanton of New Orleans, delegate from the General Assembly, O.S., said, in the General Association of Connecticut, June, 1849, that he differed from his brother, Dr. Bullard of St. Louis, Mo., in regard to the agitation in the North as strengthening the bonds of the slave. "We need," said he, "stirring up on this subject, and it can come from no quarter with more influence than from this."

should be independent in mind as well as in body—one of the sovereigns of the land—the only sovereign nature recognizes.”

The *Loudon (Va.) Chronicle*, publishes some excellent remarks upon the rising spirit of liberty throughout the world, and says :

“Human liberty and human happiness are proven to be inseparable. . . . Religion is no longer recognized as the prop of a corrupt hierarchy, a mystery of pollution, an enslaver of man.”

It is one of the encouraging signs of the times to see in a Louisiana newspaper, the *Planter's Banner*, Mr. Jefferson's celebrated letter to Edward Coles, with approbatory remarks. The letter, it is true, contains some passages that we deem inconsistent with other parts ; still it is pleasing to see such sentiments as the following quoted in a paper of a slave State :

“The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people, and it is a mortal reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain, and should have produced not a single effort—nay, I fear, not much serious willingness—to relieve them and ourselves from our present condition of moral and political reprobation. . . . The hour of Emancipation is advancing in the march of Time. It will come ; and, whether brought on by the generous energy of our own minds or by the bloody process of St. Domingo.”

Early in the year 1849, a Mr. Ellwood Fisher delivered a lecture “On the North and South,” at Cincinnati, O., in which he instituted a comparison between these divisions of the country, as to their resources and prosperity, highly favorable to the slave States. This lecture was read with avidity, and gained for the ingenious but sophistical author the applause of the South. In a few months after its appearance, an able reply was made to it by a CAROLINIAN, under the head of “The South and the North.”* These essays are said to be the best that have ever been written on the politico-economical bearings of slave labor and free. The southern writer has, in the estimation of competent judges, with masterly ability, completely

* See National Era of June 7th and 14th, 1849.

refuted the pro-slavery argument of the northern lecturer ; and it is a remarkable fact, that a native citizen of North Carolina should expose and overwhelm the rank pro-slavery sophisms of a citizen of the free State of Ohio. Fisher's bold assertions, founded on false assumptions of facts, met with such signal exposure and annihilation, that neither he nor any one else has attempted his defense ; and he has, we understand, sought an asylum in the employment of some of the southern friends of whose enviable condition and welfare he made such Munchausen statements.*

The St. Louis, Mo., *New Era* regards with deep satisfaction the agitation of the question of emancipation in Kentucky, and looks forward confidently to a similar day in its own State. The *People's Organ*, another Missouri paper, states that the number of slaves in that State is about 70,000, that the number of slaveholders does not exceed 12,000, while nearly half a million of inhabitants own no slaves, and have no interest in keeping up or extending the institution of slavery.† The same print complains of the stigma which the existence of slavery fixes upon manual industry, and affirms, what is true with regard to all the slave States, that it has the effect of excluding from the State a most valuable and numerous class of emigrants from the Atlantic region, whose enterprise, industry and skill, are needed to develop the resources of Missouri. It might have added emigrants also from Europe, who generally shun the States cursed with slavery.‡ The paper closes with desiring the people of the State to reflect whether it is not time to

*We are pleased to see that a few southern papers express surprise at the audacious statements made by Fisher, and consider them utterly unworthy of credit. They are of opinion that "A Carolinian," and a writer in the Louisville Journal, "Justice," have blown to the winds the chaff presented by him to the admiring view of so many self-deluded advocates of Slavery.

†The New York Observer remarks, in view of these facts, that there is then, in Missouri, a natural foundation for a powerful anti-slavery party.

‡ In Missouri there is a large number of German immigrants. They are opposed to slavery, and their labor is said to be cheaper than slave labor.

plan the means of relieving Missouri from this obstruction to her prosperity.

What an opportunity exists for Senator BENTON to devote his powerful energies to the accomplishment of such a noble enterprise, and thus win for himself the enduring reputation of being the emancipator of Missouri.*

In an agricultural newspaper, published at St. Louis, Mo., named *The Valley Farmer*, the editor remarks upon the subject of slave labor as compared with free labor as follows :

"The influence of Slavery upon the whole agricultural community is to retard its growth, depress the great mass of its members, and concentrate in the hands of a few the wealth of the whole. To the young or poor man who has not capital to invest in this kind of property, an incubus is laid which hinders him from putting forth those exertions which are necessary to enable him to elevate his condition. He finds himself in a community divided into two great classes, and he has little feeling in common with either. He cannot associate with the aristocracy of the masters, because he *works for a living*, and he is not allowed to associate with the servants, nor do his inclinations, habits, or pursuits, prompt him to do so. Finding himself cut off and isolated, he seeks a more congenial section, and we accordingly find that a large portion of the settlers of the new States in the North-West have been just such men; and although the States they have left may have continued to increase in wealth, they have failed to retain that hardy, intelligent population, which is of far more value to any State than any amount of gold or silver or cultivated fields."

The Mississippi *Free Trader* says two hundred and fifty thousand (it might have said 113,000) cannot always hold three millions in bondage.

We frequently see in the southern newspapers, complaints respecting the precarious nature of slave property, in which the serious and amusing are singularly blended. One of them says :

"What with the ravages of the cholera, the incursions of kidnapers, and the efforts of the slaves themselves, assisted by confederates, to escape, slave property at the South is held more and more by a very precarious and insecure tenure."

The editor of the *Loudon (Va.) Chronicle*, whose sympa-

*Pennsylvania Freeman.

thies are evidently with the cause of freedom, speaks the sentiments, we doubt not, of a large majority of the people of Western Virginia, if not of the whole State, when in connection with a rebuke of Mr. Venable, M. C., for his threat about confiscating the debts due in the South to northern citizens, he remarks :

"No rights that belong to the States of the South will ever be trampled on with impunity, while Virginia or Maryland, as well as the Carolinas, can raise a voice or an arm for their defense and protection ; but none, who have their vision, can fail to perceive that *the rights* alluded to are our greatest misfortunes ; and that, under the providence of God, the waning desire for their continuance, amongst our own people, is the real source of these ebullitions of fanaticism ! * * * Wise and patriotic men, *North and South*, believe Slavery to be an evil, if not to the slave, at least to the white race ; and, they are all willing, nay anxious, that when the means of its annihilation (unaccompanied by injustice and evil), shall be presented, it shall be dissipated and forever banished from the land. At the present hour, the best and purest men of Kentucky are earnestly discussing the means of effecting this ; in Missouri, the same purpose has taken hold of the popular mind ; and everywhere the desire exists. Virginia will not be tardy when the hour comes. But neither premature efforts, nor Southern mock chivalry will influence the action of her people."

The *Concordia* (La.) *Intelligencer*, alluding to the debates in Congress, urges upon the South moderation, and a due respect for the opinions ("or *prejudices*, if you will") of the North, and adds :

"Is it surprising that the people of the free States, who think Slavery a 'political evil,' should desire to go all the lengths warranted by the Constitution in preventing the extension of it ? . . . The prohibition of Slavery in the Territories now free would operate no real or direct injury to us, because, without the prohibition, we could not take our slaves there. . . . In regard to the prohibition of the 'slave-trade' in the District of Columbia, Congress has certainly the same power over it that the Legislature of Mississippi has over the subject within her limits. The corporation of Natchez (Miss.) prohibited, by an ordinance, the slave-dealers from making Natchez 'a depot for the sale of slaves.' It was considered a nuisance that ought to be abated and was abated. Has not Congress the same power over the District of Columbia ?"

A democratic paper published in North Carolina, and called the

Raleigh Standard, also admits the power of Congress over the District of Columbia, as will appear by the following extract :

"In the first article and eighth section of the Constitution, it is declared that Congress shall '*exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever*' over the District of Columbia. Here is a grant of exclusive and supreme power. Why was not the same language used in relation to the Territories? Why, if as 'the Register' declares, 'the right of absolute and unlimited legislation' over the Territories was intended to be delegated, did not the framers of the Constitution say so, just as they had said in relation to the District of Columbia."

The free people of color are still subject to much undeserved hardship, even in the free States. In some they are denied the privileges of citizenship and access to public schools, and in most have not the opportunity to acquire property, and rise in the community according to their talents and merit. But the efforts they are making themselves, under all the disadvantages of their position, are worthy of all praise. Among many instances of this, we notice the following. The *Salem Register* says :

"Robert Morris, Esq., of Boston, the young colored lawyer, a native of this city, appeared as counsel in a case before the Court of Common Pleas, now sitting in Salem, on Tuesday last. He managed his case with much ability and his presence excited considerable sensation. We hear his effort spoken of as having given great pleasure and satisfaction, which were not diminished by the consideration that the first colored lawyer who has ever made his appearance in the courts here, was one of our townsmen."

The graduate at the late commencement at Middlebury (Vt.) College, who delivered the Latin salutatory oration, was a colored man. The *New York Tribune*, in giving an account of the examination of the Public School, No. 1 (colored), by the Trustees, in the presence of many visitors, and distinguished friends of education, says :

"The boys under Mr. Peterson, a colored teacher, numbered 150, and compared, intellectually, very well with some of the other public schools. Their order and readiness were commendable. . . . There is a well-selected library connected with the school, and many other appliances for effective teaching. In the girls' department were

80 girls, who were lady-like and orderly, with a fair share of intelligence. They read well, wrote very well, and sang better. Some drawings and paintings were decidedly good. The principal, Miss Roe (colored), is an intelligent and accomplished woman. A piano and a music teacher should be supplied to this school, and every inducement used to bring in the children of our colored population."

Prejudice is yielding in many places in regard to the admission of colored people into public schools. In Salem, Nantucket, and New Bedford, in Massachusetts, children attend the same school without distinction of color. In Boston this prejudice is less vincible, though the school committee have so far abated ancient usage as to allow the scholars of the colored schools to take their place with the scholars of other schools, in the grand procession on last 4th of July. Some months since, a suit was brought before the Supreme Court in that city, by a colored girl of a very respectable family, to recover damages for being ejected from one of the public schools on account of color, in which she had the sympathy of a large body of the white people, who think, with the colored inhabitants, that it is injurious, oppressive, and a most cruel enforcement of the law of caste. The unconstitutionality of separate schools was ably argued by talented counsel,* but the court decided that the whole matter rests with the school committee, and consequently their act of rejection is confirmed.

Ohio has repealed what were called the "black laws" of that State, and has gone farther by providing for the education of her colored children. All acts, so far as they enforced any special disabilities, or conferred any special privileges on account of color, are repealed, except the act of February 9, 1831, relating to juries, and the act of March 14, 1831, for the relief of the poor. The proper officers are authorized to admit colored children into the regular *public* schools, and in case

* One of the papers states, with truth, that the learned and powerful, if not unanswerable plea of Charles Sumner, in behalf of the rights of the people of color, just published, will not soon be forgotten.

they do not admit them, they are required to create schools for their special benefit. Colored persons are now placed in regard to the distribution and benefits of the school funds upon the same footing with white persons.

Charles Avery, an opulent citizen of Pittsburgh, Pa., has founded a High School for People of Color, without intending to exclude other youth, which has been opened within a few weeks. It is called *The Alleghany Institute*, and is, by its charter, a college. Of the nine trustees, six are colored—their successors to continue in the same ratio forever. The object of the benevolent and liberal founder is to afford to youth, especially colored youth, of both sexes, the opportunity of acquiring any or all of the branches of both an English and classical education, on moderate terms.*

Oberlin College, Ohio, has from its beginning freely admitted students without distinction of color, and caste has never found a place there among the authorities, students, or people.

The New York Central College at McGrawville, founded by the American Baptist Free Mission Society, has a colored professor,† and admits students irrespective of color. By an article in its Constitution, it is to be forever Anti-Slavery in its character and influence. There are other collegiate institutions in the country which admit colored youth, but how the matter stands, in regard to prejudice against color in the bosom of these seminaries, we cannot say. It is obvious, however, that the true policy of treating the subject is to encourage colored youth to enter schools, academies, and colleges, where they can associate with white youth, ather than to build up separate institutions, which go toward perpetuating instead of annihilating caste. But in some places this is as yet impracticable, on account of the existing prejudices and opposition, and therefore separation is unavoidable.

Within three or four years a Manual Labor School for colored

* See Appendix.

† Professor Charles Reason.

youth has been established near the town of New Port, Indiana, through the efforts of some benevolent individuals in that State. The school, we learn,* gave such promise of usefulness that it was subsequently determined to enlarge its capacity by raising it to the dignity of a college. It now holds a charter from the State, under the name of the "Union Literary Institute," and measures are in process for raising funds to build a suitable college edifice.

The people of color are making agricultural efforts that are highly commendable. The munificent grants of land to colored persons by Gerrit Smith, Esq., in the State of New York, has induced a number of them to commence subduing the forest and tilling the soil. Thus their attention is wisely drawn to the country, and from the employments and temptations incident to their condition in cities. The following account of a new settlement in Michigan is encouraging :

"There is in Cass County, a large settlement of colored people from the Southern States. They have a fine location, well-tilled farms, neat and comfortable cottages and buildings, and live an industrious and happy life. The Goshen (Ia.) Democrat says; "Yesterday morning, about fifty colored persons passed through our village, on their way to Cass County. They had just been manumitted by a wealthy planter in Virginia. Michigan affords many advantages to the colored man which he cannot have in any other State, South or North; and we are happy to be informed that, of many hundreds who have availed themselves of a home in Michigan, there are few who make unworthy citizens."

The "AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH IN AMERICA" have purchased a tract of land situated in Essex Co., N. Y., of GERRIT SMITH, for the purpose of establishing an academy on the manual-labor system, known as "The Rush Academy," in honor of Rev. Christopher Rush, who has long filled the executive chair of the above-mentioned ecclesiastical body. This academy is instituted for the education of colored young men, more especially for the ministry, and is conducted on the manual labor system.

* *The Pennsylvania Freeman* of April 18, 1850.

A convention of colored citizens was held January 9th, 1850, at Columbus, Ohio. The attendance was large, and the newspapers speak with approbation of the order of the proceedings, the ability of the speakers, and the happy influences exerted. The leading purposes of the convention are set forth as follows :

1. To sternly resist, by all the means which the God of nations has placed in our power, every form of oppression or proscription attempted to be imposed upon us in consequence of our condition or color.

2. To acknowledge no enactment honored with the name of law, as binding upon us, the object of which is in any way to curtail the natural rights of man.

3. To give our earnest attention to the universal education of our people.

4. To sustain the cause of Temperance in our midst, and advocate the formation of societies for its promotion.

5. To leave what are called menial occupations, and aspire to mechanical, agricultural, and professional pursuits.

6. To respect and love that, as the religion of Jesus Christ, and that alone, which in its practical bearings, is not excitement merely, but that which loves God, loves humanity, and thereby preaches deliverance to the captive, the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound, and teaches us to do unto others as we would have them do to us.

The political papers of the City of New York, last autumn, ascribed the success of one of the tickets to the votes of the ten or twelve hundred colored electors, though they affected to ridicule their proceedings, which were conducted with much propriety and ability. Refusing to identify themselves with either political party, they declared their determination to favor such as would do most for their cause—the cause of freedom, of justice, and of right, and resolved

“That it is the duty of every lover of his country and well-wisher of his race, to support such men at the coming election, as are pledged to the principles of Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Speech, and Free Men.”

In Baltimore, the first Maryland STATE CONVENTION OF THE COLORED PROTESTANT METHODIST CHURCH, was held October 13th, 1849. The object was stated to be to adopt a plan to

unite in one inseparable interest all the colored Protestant Methodist churches in the United States. It was resolved to hold a general convention in Philadelphia, June 3d, 1850, "to deliberate upon the most efficient plan to advance the general interests of the Church and the kingdom of our blessed Lord."

The public press, says the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, has extensively copied the following fact, but few or none of them mentioned that the generous landlord was a colored man, though quite ready, when a colored man is guilty of a crime, or any unworthy act, to make the whole class bear the disgrace.

"AN EXAMPLE TO LANDLORDS.—Robert Henson, the owner of some half dozen houses in South Trenton, called upon his tenants on Monday last, and learning from them that the present season had not furnished them with as remunerating wages as the past, voluntarily made a material reduction upon the rents he had been in the habit of receiving. Nobody will grudge such a man the wealth he has accumulated."

The *Charleston Mercury* mentions the meritorious conduct of two slaves, who, "not without some personal danger," rescued a little white boy from drowning. That paper claims that such a fact, while it is a warning to the fanatics of the North, by showing them that the slave States of the Union produce negroes willing thus freely to venture their lives in behalf of their masters, is an argument for Slavery stronger than any that can be urged against it, beside an element of safety. One would suppose that such meritorious conduct would be rewarded by emancipation; "but," says the *Era*, "it seems that the chivalric people of South Carolina only make it the occasion of riveting their fetters."

The *New York Observer* speaks of the colored church in Baltimore as very neat and beautiful, and blessed with a good pastor, adding that "no people perhaps have advanced more rapidly in all that can elevate a people than the negro race, when proper efforts have been made during the last century."

The benefits of emancipation, the gratitude of a liberated

slave, and the appreciation of both by the late master, are so clearly and interestingly portrayed in the following letters, that we insert them at length.

WHITEHALL P. O., MADISON Co., Ky., February 2, 1850.

To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR:—The writer of the letter which I send you is a full-blooded African, about thirty-five years old. I send you the letter (which you will return to me), instead of a copy, that you may publish it *as it is*.

I have not been an uninterested, though a silent observer of the contest now, whether this Government shall extend really "the area of Freedom," or make "property" of such persons as my correspondent.

In this crisis of our national life, this letter is more than argument—it is a *truth*—an *undebatable fact*—which pleads with more power than the eloquence of words, backed by the *prestige* of genius, in favor of the liberty of all men, of every clime and color. Believe me, sincerely, your most obedient servant,

C. M. CLAY.

P. S.—It might be proper to add, that this freedman could barely read and write whilst a slave. You will observe that the handwriting* is far better than my own.

C. M. C.

NEW RICHMOND, CLERMONT Co., OHIO, January 28, 1850.

MY FRIEND:—It is about four years since I last seen you, though in that time I have heard from public report of you often. You will believe me when I say to you that I have watched over you in all the trials which you have undergone, and my heart sympathized with you when you were surrounded by men who sought your life and vilified your character. Although my skin is black, I nevertheless feel for my friends; and I shall always bear in my heart feelings of gratitude to you for the disinterested friendship shown by you to me, whilst your slave. The constant aspirations of my heart shall be for your safety, and I pray that God, who notices the fall of the sparrow, may so guide and direct you by his Spirit, that you may be led in the way of all truth, and that happiness here and felicity hereafter may be your lot.

It was my intention, ere this, to have written you, but your absence in Mexico prevented. I am now permanently located in this place; have bought real estate, which cost me six hundred dollars, for which I have nearly paid. I am engaged in making plows, and my prospects are flattering.

I inclose you a handbill containing a description of the plow I am manufacturing. They can be made any size, and to plow any

* Having had the pleasure of seeing this letter, we can state that the chirography is beautiful, and that the printed letter is a verbatim copy.

depth that may be required, from 8 to 20 inches deep. It would afford me sincere pleasure to furnish my old master with what he might want of them, or at least one of them, in order that you might test their quality, as I am well assured they will give satisfaction. I can recommend one of them, at least, such as I sell here for plowing vineyards. It would be first-rate to tear up the roots and briars of the Hocaday field.

The health of myself and family is good. We have had no increase in our family.

Remember me to your good lady and family, and to the colored people; and it would afford me much satisfaction if you permit my sister Hannah to visit me during the next summer. The plows can be sent to any point you may desire. Should you want, please write me.

With my prayers for your prosperity and happiness, permit me to sign myself

Your affectionate friend,

DAVID CLAY.

CASSIUS M. CLAY, Esq.

Lyell in his account of his second visit says:—

“Frequent mention was made during our stay in Alabama, of a negro named Ellis, a blacksmith, who had taught himself Greek and Latin. He is now acquiring Hebrew, and I was sorry to hear that the Presbyterians contemplate sending him, as a missionary, to Liberia. If it were an object in the South to elevate the blacks, he might be far more instrumental in forwarding the cause of civilization and Christianity, by remaining at home, for the negroes like a preacher of their own race.”

Considerable discussion has taken place in the papers respecting the refusal of the Department of State to grant passports to colored citizens who visit foreign countries. In reply to an application the Secretary wrote as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, June 9, 1849.

SIR:—Your letter of the 7th instant, soliciting for Henry Hambleton, a colored man, a passport for protection is received, and, in reply, I have to inform you, that passports are not granted by this Department to persons of color; and that protections are only given to them when they are in the service of diplomatic agents, &c., of the United States, going abroad.

Hambleton's certificate of nativity is herewith returned.

I am, Sir, respectfully, your ob't. servant,

JOHN M. CLAYTON.

EDWARD HURST, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.

It having been stated that passports had been granted here—

tofore to respectable colored gentlemen, on going to Europe, and Mr. Clayton having been severely censured in the newspapers for refusing one to Henry Hambleton, he addressed a vindication of himself to the editor of the *Salem Register*, in which he said that it had been the "settled regulation of the Department to refuse giving passports to persons of color." In one case, a passport had been given to an educated man who was of African descent, but whose hair was straight, whose complexion was no darker than that of many southern persons, "but not as a colored man;"* and in another case, it was not known that the application was for a colored man.

The *Montreal Herald*, in view of the above transaction, which it must be confessed, is enough to excite the ridicule and contempt of every intelligent person to whose knowledge it comes, says :

"The refusal was grounded, not on any allegation or suspicion affecting his character or conduct, but solely on the fact that his skin was too deeply colored. God had not given him a white skin, and so the Government of the United States would not acknowledge him, in foreign countries, as a citizen, nor suffer him to enjoy the pleasure of visiting one of the fairest portions of God's earth. Such treatment of the colored race is

‘A blot—and still will be a blot, in spite
Of all that grave apologists may write.’”

A Boston paper apologizes for the Secretary of State, by asserting that colored persons are not citizens. A distinguished jurist of Connecticut,† during the ‘reign of terror’ in that State, gave it as his opinion that the blacks were not citizens. The right of citizenship has been denied to colored persons by others.‡ But Chancellor Kent states :

“*Citizens*, under our Constitution and laws, mean free inhabitants, born within the United States, or naturalized under the laws of Con-

* This MAN, on his return from England, was selected by the passengers, some of whom were Southerners, to make an address on shipboard, July 4th, none of them suspecting he had *tabooed* blood in his veins.

† Judge Daggett.

‡ See a series of decisions in the *National Era* of September 27, 1849, 4th page.

gress. If a slave, born in the United States, be manumitted or otherwise lawfully discharged from bondage, or if a black man be born within the United States, and born free, he becomes, thenceforward, a citizen.”*

A man may be a citizen who is not a voter, but all voters are citizens. In an able speech made in the Senate, by Senator Baldwin of Connecticut, he says :

“ When the Constitution of the United States was framed, colored men voted in a majority of these States ; they voted in the States of New York, in Pennsylvania, in Massachusetts, in Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and North Carolina, and long after the adoption of the Constitution they continued to vote in North Carolina and Tennessee also. The Constitution of the United States makes no distinction of color. There is no word ‘ white ’ to be found in that instrument. All free people then stood upon the same platform in regard to their political rights, and were so recognized in most of the States of the Union. . . . The free colored citizens of these States are men as much entitled to the rights of citizenship, as are men of any other color or complexion whatever. . . . They vote in all the New-England States except Connecticut, and, in my judgment, they ought to be allowed to vote there also. . . . I deposited my vote in favor of the right. . . . To this day, in the State of Virginia, free colored persons, born in that State, are citizens.”†

The Free People of Color in the United States number upward of half-a-million, and, as a body, are a valuable class of citizens. Among them are men of education and refinement, and large numbers are persons of sound sense and correct morals. The order and ability of their proceedings in convention—the eloquence and power of their speeches—the efforts made in sustaining schools, churches, and benevolent institutions, are worthy of all commendation, and should shield them from the reproaches cast upon them, because, under the peculiarly disadvantageous situation in which they are placed by the tyranny and prejudice of the whites, so large a number is found who

* Vol. II. p. 258, Sec. 32.

† In no slave State in the Union are free people of color treated more humanely than in Louisiana. The laws are more liberal, in fact, than in some of the free States. It has been decided recently by the Supreme Court of Louisiana, that they are competent witnesses in trials of white persons.

are thriftless, vicious, or criminal. "Oppression maketh a wise man mad." So, the contumely perseveringly heaped upon the people of color, in a thousand forms, on account of their color, and because it is the badge of servitude in this country, is enough to dispirit, vex, and ruin men of any description or condition in life.

It is generally admitted that since the commencement of the anti-slavery struggle, the condition of the free people of color has greatly improved. Talent, enterprise, and moral worth have been developed, that have insured the esteem and commanded the respect of the community. Prejudice, in various quarters, is giving way, and caste will abate as slavery becomes more odious, until they both descend to the region of darkness from which they sprang. The time will come, we are encouraged to believe, when men will be appreciated according to their moral worth, irrespective of complexion or condition in life, when disabilities will be removed, and all enjoy the privilege of rising according to their talents, enterprise, and character.

Caste will not probably disappear in this country until after Slavery is abolished. When the time comes that there is Christianity enough here to abolish Slavery, caste will be swept away with it.* The missionaries in India find that just in proportion as the natives become enlightened and Christian, caste loses its power over them. Says one of them :

"It must go down, for the Bible is read by many here. It has power to remove every obstacle to the conversion of the heathen. Already has its saving light illumined the dark hearts of many of the worshippers of idols, and broken down caste."

There are not a few persons in this country who call them-

* A missionary in India, observing that caste seemed to disappear when the great idol, Juggernaut, was brought out, expressed his joy to a native, who replied, "we should be ashamed to exhibit it in the presence of our god." And yet American "Christians," not a few, are not ashamed to maintain the "negro pew," and other evidences of caste, in the presence of the God they profess to revere, and even in temples consecrated to His worship.

selves Christians who profess to believe that caste, or prejudice against color, is invincible, that it must continue even in the churches and at the communion table. Without knowledge of the state of things in England, France, &c., they affect to believe that it exists everywhere. The following extract from a commercial paper in this city* gives an interesting statement with respect to the treatment of blacks in Brazil :

"Of the seven millions comprising the entire population of Brazil, three millions are estimated to be negro slaves; two and a half millions aboriginal Indians and free negroes; and the residue, a million and a half, whites. The social state of the population is not marked by the distinction of color, so operative elsewhere in the production of classes, but only by that of freedom and servitude. The blacks have access to all, and are in possession of many offices of honor and trust, and engage in every department of business. The white race and the black meet on terms of perfect equality in social intercourse, and intermarry without scruple, provided there exists no obstacle in the relative position in life of the respective parties. A writer in the North American Review knew 'the wife of an admiral, whose hue was of the darkest among Africa's daughters,' and mentions the dismay of an American diplomatic agent, at the entrance of a jet black colonel into the court, where he had just undergone his presentation. We have the same authority for the fact, that not long since the Brazilian ambassador to England was a mulatto, and that at the present time, a large majority of the army, as well officers as privates, is of African descent."

The Colonization scheme would meet with little opposition on the part of intelligent people of color, if in its inception it had not strengthened the prejudice against them, and if its patrons had confined themselves to aiding free people of color to emigrate to Liberia agreeably to the constitution of the Society, without using, directly or indirectly, any coercion. But when they undertake to say, that the two races cannot dwell together on this continent, and it is not desirable that they should; when they take no part in elevating the colored man here, with a view to his remaining at home; when they urge upon the consciences of slaveholders the duty of emancipating their slaves only for the purpose of sending them to

* Journal of Commerce.

Africa; when they speak disparagingly of the efforts of abolitionists without discrimination; when the leading promoters of the plan are slaveholders; when they hold up colonization as a remedy for slavery, they will be and ought to be opposed.

The President and several of the Vice-Presidents of the Colonization Society are slaveholders. Most of the speakers at its meetings denounce the anti-slavery movement, and ridicule the efforts of its advocates. Their presses often indulge in language offensive both to the man of color and his friends, though seldom we believe in a style quite equal to the following, from the *Liberia Advocate* :*

"But falsehood is yielding to sober truth, and the gospel is again triumphing, and the Colonization cause will ride safe in her wake. You recollect, sir, when Moses was an Abolitionist, he went out and slew a fellow-man—I suppose a master or a slaveholder. For that act of rashness he had to run away; and perhaps was nearly forty years repenting for his wickedness; after which time, God called him, and made a Colonizationist of him, and sent him back to deliver his brethren. May God give us a Moses, or make you like him, &c."

Another writer,† who advocates the claims of the Society to public patronage, has the following undisguised paragraph :

"The great object is to get rid of the free colored population which is increasing rapidly in numbers and is viewed with fear in the slave States and antipathy throughout the whole Union. Many of the States have prohibited the admission of free negroes or mulattoes, and have authorized even the selling of the intruders into slavery. The free negroes are everywhere in the United States excluded by prejudice from any but the meanest employments, although they are not wanting in industry and intelligence. These people feel acutely their degraded position, and could easily be persuaded to emigrate to Liberia if a quick and pleasant passage were secured for them, and an adequate provision for their support on their arrival at their new home until able to shift for themselves. Each emigrant receives five acres of land and can purchase more at one dollar per acre."

Some of the slave States threaten to remove their free colored people by force, with the aid of the Colonization

* Printed at St. Louis, Mo., and edited by the Rev. R. S. Findley.

† See *New York Tribune* of April 24th, 1850.

Society. The following appeared lately in one of our city papers :

"The House of Representatives of Georgia have passed, by the strong vote of 93 to 29, a bill to repeal the law laying restriction on the introduction of slaves into that State. We may mention, in this connection, that a resolution has been introduced into the lower House of the Georgia Legislature to remove all free negroes now in that State to the colony of Liberia. The resolution was referred to a select committee."

In the *African Repository*, the organ of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, is copied an Act of the State of Virginia making appropriations for the removal of free persons of color. The sum of \$30,000 is appropriated annually for five years for this purpose. In the same periodical is the copy of another Act "to induce the Free Negroes of this Commonwealth (Va.) to migrate therefrom," by which an annual tax of one dollar each is levied upon every free negro between the age of 21 and 55, to raise a fund, to be added to the above appropriation. And "the legal tax for the seal of the court and attestation of every copy of registration" delivered to any free negro is to be exacted from him and paid into the treasury of the State. The organ aforesaid, in view of this cruel law, says :

"It will be a matter of general joy among our various readers that the above Act has been passed by a decided majority in the Virginia Legislature, and is now in full force. IT IS A GRAND MORAL DEMONSTRATION OF THE IMMENSE IMPORTANCE OF THE WORK OF COLONIZATION."

The great body of intelligent colored people in the free States have been strongly opposed to the Colonization scheme from its commencement, and previous to the establishment of the present anti-slavery societies, because they believed it fostered a prejudice against Americans called Africans, that was detrimental to their present peace and welfare, and to their future well-being. They, of course, will rejoice in all judicious attempts to elevate the condition of their race, to put an end to the slave-trade, and to establish a free Republic ;

and to that no anti-slavery man can offer any reasonable objection. But it has no special claims to *anti-slavery* support, and we are fully persuaded, as we always have been, to use the language of Wilberforce, Buxton, Suffield, Macaulay, Lushington; Gurney, and their associates, that "THE PROFESSIONS MADE BY THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY, OF PROMOTING THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, ARE ALTOGETHER DELUSIVE."

The Convention that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, in 1833, resolved that they would "encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of the slaves, by giving a preference to their productions;" and the subject of free labor produce has had a strong hold upon the feelings of many abolitionists, from the beginning of the anti-slavery struggle. Both in Great Britain and in this country, the duty of abstaining from the produce of slave-labor is inculcated in able periodicals, and the practice of a large number of devoted friends of the cause accords with the principle, that "whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own." The subject has not only been taken up in the free States, but persons hostile to Slavery in the slave States have exhibited no little zeal in forwarding the views of non-consumers of slave products. We learn from the *Non-Slaveholder*,* that Free Produce meetings have been held in North Carolina, by members of the Society of Friends, and committees appointed to collect facts, disseminate information, and use efforts for promoting the cause of emancipation through the medium of supply and consumption.

A deputation has been sent to the cotton-growing States to make inquiry, establish correspondence, and promote the growth of free-labor cotton. Their report is encouraging. Cotton raised by free labor in Tennessee has already been sent to Manchester, England, and there manufactured for the friends of the cause, in this country. This fact, in connection with

* A valuable monthly magazine, published in Philadelphia, and edited by SAMUEL RHOADS—price one dollar per annum.

other circumstances, has led persons in five of the British West India Islands to introduce the growth of cotton, within a year past. And recently a petition to the Queen, praying her to give orders that no articles connected with slave-labor shall be used in the royal household, has been signed by sixty thousand British women. Should the people of that country come to the resolution not to manufacture any cotton grown by slaves, American Slavery would be attacked, it must be confessed, IN ITS MOST VULNERABLE POINT.

We learn from the *London Times* of June 29th, 1849, that the question as to the possibility of a successful cultivation of American cotton in India has recently formed the subject of an interesting report by Mr. Robert Wight, of Madras. It has been supposed that there are two insurmountable obstacles to its growth in India, viz., the excessive heat and the extreme dryness of the climate. Ample experiments have been made, and it is believed that the success of growing American cotton will be as certain and uniform as now attends the indigenous plants. The real difficulty to be met consists, Mr. Wight contends, neither in heat nor drought, but in the fact, that while Mississippi enjoys a rising temperature during the growing season, in India the reverse is the case. He thinks that if the sowing is effected between the middle of August and middle of September, the plant will be grown and sufficiently strong to bear the cold weather of November and December.

We learn by the *Evening Post* of February 13th, 1850, that a vessel has arrived in London with 3,139 bales of cotton from Bombay; and from the *New York Observer*, that the ship *Earl Balcanas*, from Bombay, had brought 5,336 bales of cotton, as portion of her cargo. This, says the *Times*, is a remarkably large and important arrival of cotton from the East Indies.

A treaty has recently been signed by which the Danish settlements on the African gold coast have been ceded to England, and the latter power is now considering the subject of raising a supply of cotton there. The late African traveler,

John Duncan, planted several acres of land with American seed. It appears from his letters, that the cotton now grown there in considerable quantities, is of very good quality. A small sample inclosed in one of his letters, is said to be quite equal, if not superior to fair Orleans, having equal length and strength of staple, while in fineness and color it seems decidedly superior.

In Jamaica, experiments are making in cotton-planting, which have excited considerable attention there. Persons of experience from this country are engaged in the work. One of them gives it as his opinion, that Jamaica alone could supply England with nearly a million of bales annually.

The newspaper press of this country has teemed the past year with discussions of Slavery. By this instrumentality a vast amount of information has been spread before the people. These discussions have not been confined to the free States, but throughout the whole country the subject of emancipation and non-extension have been the themes of much remark. Although one result has been that a few papers, "religious" as well as secular, have become more pro-slavery than before, yet a large proportion of them have taken decided anti-slavery ground, at least with regard to the extension of Slavery.

The *National Era* continues its career at Washington, with increased patronage. Its weekly issue already amounts to fifteen thousand. Many subscribers live in slave States; and a hundred exchange papers are sent every week into that part of the country. No measure adopted by the Committee affords them more pleasure, in the retrospect, than the establishment of this excellent paper, at the capital of the nation. Its able editor is incessant in his labors, aided by correspondents at home and abroad. Although its columns contain weekly as much anti-slavery matter as any other anti-slavery paper in the country, the editor publishes a variety of other matter, and by this means his paper finds an extensive circulation, North and South, where it might otherwise fail in obtaining readers.

There are many other anti-slavery papers in the country that continue to be conducted with ability, and are worthy of a generous support.

Among the secular papers not technically anti-slavery, we are gratified to mention the *New York Evening Post*, which is entitled to the especial confidence and support of anti-slavery men, for its able advocacy of their principles. Other papers might be mentioned in this connection, did space permit, that have zealously vindicated the doctrines of freedom.

Soon after the successful establishment of the *National Era*, at Washington, an attempt was made by a large number of influential slaveholders to establish in that city a newspaper, that should represent the slaveholding interest of the nation, but it proved abortive. Recently another effort has been made, having in view a similar object. An address has been put forth by the Southern members of Congress, to the people of the Southern States, recommending the establishment of a newspaper in the metropolis of the country, "which shall be solely occupied with the interests and views of those politicians who are identified with the slaveholding class." The main idea running through the whole of the address, says the *Evening Post*, of this city, is :

"That the literature of the whole civilized world is arrayed against slavery ; that the crusade of which it is the object threatens its utter extermination ; that there is no newspaper wholly, or without respect to political parties, devoted to its defense, and that it is essential to the existence of slavery, to supply this deficiency immediately and effectually."

We sincerely hope that this attempt will not, like the preceding one, fail, for we should rejoice to see the merits of the 'institution' defended at the capital with the best ability the South can furnish. The *National Era*, established by this Committee, and now carried on with ability and success, by its proprietor and editor, Dr. Bailey, will be stimulated to new exertions, by having a newspaper, whose main object it is, to defend the interests of the slave power, by his side. But we

look upon the project as one of the last desperate efforts of the slaveholders to overawe the North, and restore "the equilibrium of the Constitution."

Some of the Southern papers take liberal and philosophic views of the whole subject, and seem disposed to let in light upon the subject of Slavery, as well as everything else, and suffer institutions to remain or fall according to their worth. The *Louisville Democrat* says truly :

"Discussion is the life of liberty and progress. On a subject of importance, it never did harm in the end. If you are right, never be afraid of discussion ; it will fortify you in the result, and make your position impregnable. Let truth and error take it rough-and-tumble. If truth is not victorious in such a struggle, she will be vanquished on her only field of hope. Truth never gained anything by restraints, by the aid of either force or fraud."*

The friends of emancipation have looked to the West Indies, ever since the boon of freedom was restored to the enslaved, with peculiar interest, believing that the grand experiment of the negro's capability of supporting himself was to be tested there, as an example to the people of this country and the world. All in the slaveholding interest among us affect to consider that the experiment has been a failure, while the late slaveholders themselves, and unprejudiced visitors, unite in declaring that it has been successful. It is true, that some estates have been given up, that the cultivation of others has not been profitable, that complaints are made that the negroes will not work for the proprietors, that the exports have diminished, and that general complaint prevails. In presenting a brief view of the present condition of some of the islands, we shall be able, we think, to satisfy candid minds that the decline is attributable to other causes than emancipation, that the people

* This was said with reference to the outrages of the rowdies in this city, during the Anti-Slavery meetings, the present week, at the instigation, as was supposed, of the Southerners then in the city and vicinity, who were probably stimulated to engage the services of one or two city newspapers, and of the leaders of the mob, by the late speech of Mr. D. Webster, indorsed as it was by venerable men in Church and State.

of the islands lately cursed with slavery, are gradually adapting themselves to the new state of things, with a reasonable prospect that at no distant day these fertile regions will smile with prosperity, and gladden the hearts of their inhabitants. George William Alexander, of London, Treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, now on a mission of inquiry to the West India Islands, in a letter dated February 27, 1850, says :

"Bermuda is a garden teeming with population, and enjoying a considerable share of prosperity notwithstanding all the difficulties and disadvantages incident to the fatal sugar bill of 1846, and the competition thus introduced with the slaveholder of Brazil, and the Spanish West India Colonies."

"Not only are the planters of Barbadoes, as we believe, generally thriving, but the condition of the great mass of the people is one of much comfort. I cannot say that the emancipated population have made so great an advance in education, morals and religion as we had fondly hoped, but they have, perhaps, made as much as could be reasonably expected, considering the degradation and demoralization from which they were to be raised, the advantages they have had, and the example of those around them. It was delightful to visit some of the schools, and to see the bright and intelligent countenances of black and brown children, and others of a skin colored like our own by their side. There is a great improvement in the diminution of the cruel and monstrous prejudice against a dark hue in Barbadoes, although the improvement in that respect is not so great there as in some of the other colonies.

"Wesleyan and Moravian missionaries have, I believe, been productive of much benefit in Barbadoes, and there have been, and still are, good men belonging to the Church of England in the island. One of the latter class, a clergyman, gave much offense during the period of slavery, by recommending from the pulpit in lectures subsequently published, the duty of taking much greater pains than had been done up to that time, to provide for the religious instruction of the bondman. How thankful ought we to be, that there is nothing now to prevent a circulation of gospel truth among every portion of the population, and that many of the poor do receive it. We regretted much to see the numerous shops in which spirits are sold both in town and country, and fear that unless some decisive measures be taken to lessen that evil, it will interfere much both with the temporal and religious welfare of the inhabitants.

"A Total Abstinence Society has been established at Bridgetown, which we attended. We were also present at an Anti-Slavery meeting, when an Anti-Slavery Society was formed, of which Sir WILLIAM COLEBROOKE, Governor of the Island, is patron. Some of

the other Colonies that we visited do not present quite as bright an aspect as respects commercial prosperity as Barbadoes.

"We have now successively made a shorter or longer stay at British Guiana (Demarara, and Berbice), Trinidad, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Martinique, Dominica, Guadaloupe, and are now at Antigua. The circumstances of the planters in different colonies vary considerably, and are I believe to a great extent, influenced by their own individual conduct and that of their legislatures. They are likewise affected by the circumstance of a large proportion of the proprietors being resident or otherwise. In most of the colonies where the estates possess a fertile soil with facility for shipping, and are well managed, there is generally, I believe, a fair return. I do not state that this is universally the case, especially in one or two of the colonies, where there has been, or is, a deficiency of labor, for estate cultivation. The rates of wages are everywhere moderate, and in most colonies very low—say, 6 to 7½ or 9d, with use of provision ground, and house in many instances, but not universally. Such however, is the productiveness of the soil in most of the islands that with the great advantage of the provision grounds, the laborer is generally well off as regards the comforts of life, and in many cases able to save money. A large number have bought small freeholds, and erected houses for themselves, whilst they continue to work during a greater or less period on sugar estates.

"We found the French islands in a better situation than we expected, particularly Martinique. They have large and noble public schools, in which a great proportion of the pupils are black or colored. I do not think some of them would contrast very unfavorably with your public schools as regards the instruction, whilst I fear you have few instances of similar liberality in allowing white and colored children to be taught together in the same seminaries. The reign of prejudice, however, I hope will soon pass with you as it is passing in the French and British Antilles. The mayor of Martinique is a colored man of much intelligence, and gentlemanly manners, and not inferior, but in my opinion superior, to a large proportion of persons holding the same office in England."

"At Dominica, the last British island at which we staid, a majority of the House of Assembly are colored persons, including the Speaker, a highly respectable merchant in Roseau, and the Clerk, a worthy Wesleyan, who showed us much kindness."

An intelligent American, of this City, recently visited Jamaica, and from his published Letters, we extract the following account of that island:*

"Since August 1st, 1838, when the apprenticeship system was abolished on this island, the black people have enjoyed the same political privileges as the whites, and with them have shared the honors and patronage of the mother and local governments. . . . One

* Letters from Jamaica, published in the *New York Evening Post*.

accustomed to the proscribed condition of the free blacks in the United State, will constantly be startled at the diminished importance attached here to the matter of complexion. . . . Public opinion does not recognize any social distinctions based exclusively upon color. . . . One of the most distinguished barristers on the island is a colored man. . . . Colored lawyers, colored jurymen, colored officers of the court, colored witnesses, fill the court-room, and I was assured that more than seven-tenths of the whole police force of the island, amounting to 800 men, are colored. . . . A fifth part of the legislative assembly is composed of colored men. . . . The public printers of the legislature, and the editors of the leading government paper are also colored. . . . It was my privilege, the other day, to make the acquaintance of one of the most highly cultivated men I ever saw—a mulatto. . . . His appearance and address both indicated superior refinement. . . . There are one or two black regiments here constantly under pay.”

This writer, after speaking of the natural wealth and spontaneous productiveness of the island, and the sincere desire felt by the heads of the government in England, to have the blacks prosper and vindicate the philanthropic purpose which secured their liberty, alludes to the depreciation of real estate, the decrease in the exportations of produce, the scarcity of money, &c. He says that the people of Jamaica attribute this downward tendency to the sugar duties’ Bill of 1846, which repealed the Act by which foreign sugar was practically prohibited from the English market by a duty of 63s. per cwt., and opened the market to slave-grown sugars on equal terms with colonial sugars—a policy that has already nearly driven the Jamaica sugars out of England—and to the heavy duties upon articles of importation. The writer adds :

“Upon these facts, the Jamaica economists rest. They fold their arms under the conviction that they can do nothing for themselves, and that nothing but home legislation can protect them from hopeless ruin. This I think a most gross and extraordinary delusion. . . . The revenue laws are all they complain of, and they think that proper protection would speedily restore them to prosperity and wealth.”

The writer evidently believes that there are other causes for the ruinous condition of things in Jamaica, and gives it as his opinion that if the island were an American State, she would speedily be more productive and valuable than any agricultural

portion of the United States of the same dimensions, and that "neither the Emancipation Bill of '32, nor the Sugar Duties' Bill of '46, is a fatal obstacle to a prosperity far exceeding anything which Jamaica has ever known." He attributes the main causes of depression, in addition to the revenue acts, to the following causes :

"The degrading estimate placed upon every species of agricultural labor by the white population. . . . The fact that the whites, as a mass, are almost entirely unproductive, and the blacks far less productive than they would be, if within the influence of a healthier public opinion. . . . There is no intellect invested in the industry of the island. . . . The planter does not attend personally to the culture of his estates. . . . Most of the estates are very large, containing 1000 or 1200 acres. . . . The operators have no interest to diminish the amount labor required. . . . There has been no advance whatever in the mechanical and implemental economies of the island. . . . There is no civilized country in the world, I believe, where wages are as low. . . . There are from three to five times as many persons employed about everything that is doing as are necessary. . . . The plow is still comparatively rare here."

William Wemyss Anderson, Esq., of Jamaica, who has long resided there, made the following statements in a letter published in the *Courier and Enquirer*, October, 1849 :

"Our distress is the result of a combination of causes. . . . An extraordinary succession, during the last ten years, of seasons of drought. . . . The legislation of the Imperial Parliament in the year 1846, *from which time only* do the planters themselves date their downfall. . . . The neglect of an adequate provision of money, and suitable agency to insure the education and religious instruction of the emancipated, and the establishment amongst them of the institutions of a Christian civilized community. . . . The importation of multitudes of debased heathen."

An American traveler,* writing from Kingston, Jamaica, states :

"I never saw, in a town of the same population as this, more good order and external propriety of deportment. The negroes are uniformly civil. I have not yet seen a drunken man or a street brawl, or heard any foul language. . . . That the colored population has been improved is confessed by all with whom I have conversed on

* Dr. Foote.

the subject. Clergymen, magistrates, public officers, planters, commercial men, all without exception, agree on this point. . . . The planters have no money, because, in the days when money was plenty, they lived extravagantly."

David Turnbull, Esq., long and favorably known to abolitionists throughout the world, at his recent visit to this city, on his way from Jamaica to England, communicated the following results of Emancipation in the West Indies:

"Up to the year 1846, the progress of education among the laboring classes, and of material prosperity in all, was perfectly satisfactory. The measure of that year, which admitted the produce of Brazil and Cuba into the English markets on terms of equality with that of our own West Indies, has worked and is still working incalculable injury.

"To prove that the present depressed condition of Jamaica, Guiana and Trinidad is not to be ascribed to the emancipation of the slaves, it is only necessary to compare the state of these colonies with that of Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Kitts and the other densely peopled Islands. In Barbadoes during the reign of Slavery, the maximum annual produce of Sugar was 20,000 tons. In 1849, this little Island has shipped not less than 37,000 tons. In Jamaica, during Slavery, as much as 100,000 tons was produced. In 1849, this had fallen to 35,000 tons.

"The explanation is, that in Barbadoes, with 130,000 inhabitants, there are but 120,000 acres of land: while in Jamaica, with 400,000 inhabitants, there are 4,000,000 acres of land; and in consequence, every individual laborer is a proprietor of the soil, and naturally prefers his own individual advantage to that of great planters who offer wages, it is true, but not of sufficient amount to induce the laborer to abandon his own freehold."

The papers in this country frequently contain rumors of plots to revolutionize Cuba. There is reason to believe that preparations have been made by gangs of desperate men, under the leadership of persons inimical to the Spanish Government, to make a descent upon that Island. The President of the United States, some months ago, issued a proclamation warning all citizens against violating our treaty obligations. The Government of Cuba is, doubtless, apprized of every movement in this country or elsewhere of the revolutionists. It is believed that the Captain-General is invested with authority to emancipate and arm the slaves, if such a measure becomes necessary to save the island from the hands of the revolutionists. "These men,"

says the *National Era*, "may be the blind instruments of producing a convulsion which shall shake the slave system, on this Continent, to its foundations."

Indians from Yucatan, who had been taken prisoners, have been introduced into Cuba substantially as slaves. They are here sold or let out for five or nine years for the sugar estates. It is said that Malays and Chinese have been brought to Cuba as colonists. The government winks at this. Slave cargoes from Africa find admittance. In March last, between four and five hundred were landed near the port of Mariel. The farce was enacted of seizing about eighty of the number, and bringing them to Havana for delivery to the Mixed Commission. The usual fate of the slaves thus delivered, says a correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*, is to be let out for five years, for five ounces (\$85) a head; and that is commonly the last that is heard of them. The Spanish paper published in this city, called *La Verdad*, expresses itself very freely about the clandestine trade of African negroes:—"the abominable trade in human flesh"—and intimates that Queen Christina is herself interested in the profits. It charges as follows:

"During these four months, 2,400 negroes have been introduced, and the other shipments belonging to the Company (the Negro Company at Madrid) are expected, who have purchased on the coast of Africa 10,000 negroes at \$8 50 each."

Spaniards at Cuba, with the connivance of the authorities, propose, it is said, to introduce negro slaves as imported from Brazil, professing that this will not be an infraction of treaties. It is reported that Lord Palmerston has addressed an energetic note to the Spanish Government, complaining of the scandalous manner in which the slave-trade is carried on in Cuba, and threatening to blockade the Island if his representations are not regarded. How this is we cannot say; but similar remonstrances have been repeatedly made, while nothing effectual has been accomplished.

Notwithstanding the conduct of the authorities and people of

Cuba, with reference to the Africans, Slavery there is, in some respects, more tolerable than in the United States. The laws permit any slave to purchase his freedom on paying a price fixed by three persons, one appointed by the master, and two by a magistrate. He may also, if he pleases, compel his master to sell him a certain portion of his time, which he may employ to earn the means of purchasing his entire freedom. Slavery in Turkey never exhibited so refined cruelty as is seen in Christian America. Lieutenant Lynch remarks :

"By a law of the Ottoman Empire, no one within its limits can be held in Slavery for a period exceeding seven years. . . . In Turkey, every colored person employed by the Government receives monthly wages ; and if a slave, is emancipated at the expiration of seven years, when he becomes eligible to any office beneath the sovereignty."

The Executive Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY have been indefatigable in their labors the past year. A great deal of their attention has been directed to the foreign African slave-trade, and its remedy. In opposition to the government plan of endeavoring to suppress the hateful traffic by force, they have proposed to strike the blow at the institution of slavery itself, being fully persuaded that so long as slavery exists, the slave-trade in one or other of its forms will continue. The views of the committee have been set forth very ably in their memorials to the British government in 1846 and 1849. The mode suggested by them, if adopted, would, they are persuaded, prove entirely efficacious in its effects upon the Spanish and Brazilian slave-traders ; for it is, as they well observe, the foreign market, and the British in particular, which gives vitality to the slave-trade, and renders its suppression so difficult.

The committee have also paid attention to colonial legislation. In a recent letter from John Scoble, Esq., to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, he says :

"Ever since the complete abolition of slavery in the British colonies in 1838, we have had to struggle against the efforts of the dominant

party in them, to pass unjust and oppressive laws. The planting and mercantile interests, ever on the alert, possessing the legislative and the governing power, have sought by all sorts of means to regain, at least, some part of the power they lost by emancipation. It would form a striking and painful history, were I to recount the methods which have been taken to coerce labor under a state of freedom. Under pretense of repressing vagrancy and enforcing contracts for labor, the most flagrant attempts have been made to impair the great act of abolition. I may even go farther and say that under the profession of preserving the health and advancing the education of the people, propositions of the worst class have been embodied in laws and ordinances, restrictive of the just liberties of the people. I can assure you that this department of our labor has been no light one, especially as we have had to combat the government as well as the planters, on this point. Though we have not been able always to prevent mischief, I believe we have done much good, and that but for our persevering efforts in this direction, freedom would now be but a name in our emancipated colonies. In reviewing the course of colonial legislation, and the irritating and oppressive effects it has had on the liberated negroes, I confess I am surprised that they have borne it so well as they have done, and that they have not in some way or other retaliated. During the past year we have happily prevented the enactment of a semi-slave code in Trinidad, and are, at this time, working at the same object for British Guiana. Freedom is of little value unless it be guarded by just laws, and a pure administration of justice. Another subject has also much occupied our attention—the immigration of foreign laborers into our colonies. On principle we cannot object to this, but to the schemes, whether of the planters or the government, on this subject, we have offered the strongest opposition, as unjust, inhuman, and immoral. Immigrants in immense numbers have been imported into Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana and Mauritius, not at the expense of the parties to be benefited by their labor, but chiefly at the expense of the emancipated classes, whose rivals in the labor market they were intended to be, and whom they have driven from the estates to find a home and employment on their little freeholds. The immigrants so imported, on bounty, have not been properly cared for, and have died in great numbers. Nothing can be more affecting than the accounts we get of their mortality, and an awful amount of responsibility rests with the planters, the local authorities, and the government in this matter. The last *Reporter* contains a memorial to Lord Grey, on this point, illustrative of this painful fact. The immorality of the thing is not less revolting than the injustice and immorality which has attended its execution. It requires but a small knowledge of unsanctified human nature to say that masses of sensual Hindoos and heathen Africans, with few exceptions males, thrown into a population but just emerged from slavery, must have a sad effect, but sugar is the god of our colonies, and to it must be sacrificed everything that gives dignity, or brings happiness, to the working man."

The slave-trade is continued under the most revolting circumstances. The poor slaves in the service of the Brazilian and Cuban Mining Companies are subjected to the greatest atrocities, which result in a wholesale sacrifice of human life. Englishmen are proprietors in these mining companies! The slave-trade is prosecuted with unwonted vigor and success. Lord HOWDEN, late British minister to Brazil and at present to Spain, in his testimony before a committee of the House of Lords, stated, in substance :

"The government and authorities connive at the slave-trade. . . . British merchants are implicated with Brazilian slave-traders. . . . The sugar act of 1846 is a cause of the increase of the slave-trade. . . . Steamers as well as sailing vessels are employed in it. . . . The profits are immense; in some instances the clear profits are 800 per cent. . . . There are organized companies that insure slave vessels and their cargoes of human flesh. . . . All the appliances of this trade are brought to a degree of perfection that is astonishing. . . . The mortality in the first two or three years after importation is immense. . . . The feeling in Brazil is that the British cruising system on the coast of Africa is a failure, particularly as it regards the great speculations. Rio Janeiro could easily be blockaded, and a blockade would throw the whole empire into confusion. . . . There is an abolition party in Brazil, and five or six deputies every year speak freely in the Chambers on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade."

The slave-trade carried on by Spain and Brazil, not only is, but long has been in direct violation of treaties with the British government, for which treaties the British tax-payers have paid to those countries £1,300,000 sterling, (six and a half millions of dollars) in hard cash. A large proportion, therefore, of the slaves now in bondage in Cuba and Brazil, having been illegally introduced, they are, by all principles of international law, as well as by the laws of those States themselves, free men and free women.* It is estimated, that in 1846, 76,117, and in 1847, 84,356 slaves were stolen from Africa, to supply these States. In view of these facts the British government seems called upon by the civilized world, for the sake of her own con-

*Letter of W. E. Forster, Esq., to the Editors of the *Leeds Mercury*.

sistency and honor, for the sake of justice and humanity, to enforce those treaties, to effect the liberation of the hundreds of thousands who have been illegally enslaved since their ratification; and to see to it that such infractions of the treaties cease forever. For years memorials and remonstrances have been addressed to it, but nothing effectual has been done; the ministers of the crown replying from time to time, "the subject has engaged, and continues to engage the earnest solicitude of Her Majesty's government," so that inquiry is made, has it the POWER and INCLINATION to enforce the treaties so solemnly and expensively made on the ostensible score of humanity? At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that it is only in the extinction of negro slavery that the world can have security for the utter extermination of the African slave-trade.*

It cannot be denied that the African slave-trade is carried on under the FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES, and by American citizens; and the government, though annually uttering its official abhorrence of the trade, has afforded facilities to it. In our treaty stipulations with England and France, while declaring the foreign slave-trade to be piracy, we reserved to ourselves the right of legalizing the traffic in slaves, from one part of the United States to another, in *coasting* vessels. Since the acquisition of Mexican territory, the Secretary of State has issued instructions that "all California-bound vessels should be cleared *coastwise*." The consequence is that now, under our flag, the slave-pirates of the whole world are enabled to carry on their nefarious projects. Of all countries on the face of the earth, the United States should be the first effectually to discountenance and do all in its power to put an end to the slave-trade. But while slavery exists in the land, it will not, it cannot be done.

France, it is said, has arranged to withdraw half of her cruisers from the African coast, and is desirous of withdrawing,

* Address of the deputation from the Society of Friends to the Queen of England, 1849.

in conjunction with England, the cruisers altogether, with a view to blockade Rio Janeiro and Cuba, as a more effectual plan for the suppression of the trade. It may be more effectual, but still it will not accomplish the object. The cunning of the traders, with their confederates on shore, stimulated by the prospect of immense gains, will prove an over-match for blockading vessels. Unless the treaties are enforced, we believe, the slave-trade will not be essentially diminished.

A strong effort has been made in the British Parliament to instruct the Government to withdraw the African squadron. It has been demonstrated that the annual expense of a million sterling to sustain these cruisers is money worse than thrown away. The slave-trade has not been diminished, while the sufferings of the victims have been greatly increased. But ministers succeeded, in defiance, it is thought, of the will of the people of England, in maintaining the policy for one year more.*

It is believed that the commanders of the ships sometimes connive at the escape of the slaves, notwithstanding the promise of head-money, because the slavers have been able to outbid the Government. Governor Nicholl, of Fernando Po, is known to have declared, on his return to England, that the captain of a British man-of-war, to his knowledge, received £1000 sterling of a slaver to let him escape.

The purchase by England from the Danish Government of their forts on the gold coast of Africa, involving a cession of any claims it may have to jurisdiction over the adjacent territories, will induce the British Government, it is thought, to substitute territorial acquisitions for a blockading squadron. Opposition was made to the project, however, by those who think England has already expended enough at Sierra Leone, and that the scheme would involve as much sacrifice of life and money as has the coast blockade.

The African population can be diverted from wars to obtain

* For important facts, see Appendix.

prisoners for sale and from selling one another, by the introduction of a cheap and useful system of trade. British and American fabrics are needed, and could be sold above remunerative prices. Large quantities of rum, tobacco, powder, warlike weapons, &c., are annually sold on the coast and in the interior at exorbitant profits. These deleterious articles stimulate the wars that result in the sale of human beings. But there are innumerable articles that are useful to the natives and would be eagerly purchased, at fair prices, in exchange for the productions of the country, viz., palm and ground-nut oil, camwoods, ivory, and other things. This subject is well worthy the attention of enterprising merchants, and commends itself to the Governments that are sincerely desirous of lessening the horrors and putting an end to the atrocities of the slave-trade. Nothing, says the *British Banner*, will ever meet the case of Africa but that which shall diffuse the Gospel, raise the people, promote agriculture, establish commerce, and work up a system of well-developed civilization. As Dr. Chalmers said, "the missionary is the man that will realize this improvement."

White Slavery is said not to exist in Russia, but it is a mistake. During the past year, Count Knaisson, being indebted to the Russian Government 1,508,922 roubles, (316,873 dollars) and not being able to pay, the Senate ordered the seizure and sale of his serfs in Tambov, to the number of 3,762 men, women and children.

The President of New Grenada, Don JOSE HILARIO LOPEZ, in his message of March 1st, 1850, to the Senators and Representatives of that Republic, regrets that he cannot present a project for the immediate extinction of Slavery. He suggests a change in the funds destined to that end; and at the same time mentions honorably the efforts made by private citizens in their desire to see this important object soon attained. On the last Anniversary of the National Independence, and on other similar occasions, the President says a great number of manumissions were accomplished, and exclaims:

"O, that in place of the great expense for luxury and ostentation usual on anniversary days, this happy custom might everywhere be adopted! No good work could be so propitious in the eyes of the Divinity, none more worthy of an enlightened and democratic people!"

Having taken this annual survey of the anti-slavery cause, we are, in view of it, constrained to believe that it is steadily advancing; that Slavery is now generally considered a doomed institution; and that, ere long, it will be universally treated as a disgrace, a reproach, and a curse. We are encouraged to proceed in our labors under a full persuasion that they have the approbation of good men in every clime, and the benignant smiles of the Almighty.

To the true friends of the Slave, throughout our land and the world, we tender our congratulations, while we invite them to redouble their efforts and sacrifices on behalf of their down-trodden fellow-men, believing that the steady, enlarged and persevering inculcation of moral truth, religious motives, and political consistency, will, with the Divine blessing, eventually influence all hearts to righteous action on behalf of the colored man, bond and free. At the beginning of this enterprise, we invoked the favor and blessing of the God of the oppressed, and He has graciously vouchsafed them to us. On his protection we continue to rely and in his promises confide.

"Oh! speed the moment on
When Wrong shall cease—and Liberty, and Love,
And Truth, and Right, throughout the earth be known
As in their home above."

On behalf of the Executive Committee,

LEWIS TAPPAN,

Corresponding Secretary.

BUSINESS MEETING.

A MEETING of the Society was held agreeably to adjournment, Rev. LUTHER LEE in the chair, and Mr. H. D. SHARPE, Rec. Sec. *pro tem*. Prayer was offered by the chairman.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. Messrs. A. F. Williams, Wm. E. Whiting, and C. W. Gardner were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year. On motion, it was resolved that the Annual Report be printed and distributed under the direction of the Executive Committee.

The Corresponding Secretary stated that it was desirable that the members of the Society should express their views with regard to the present state of affairs, and the best course to be pursued to advance the interests of the cause. He gave a detailed account of the doings of the Committee the past year, the measures they have in contemplation, the works now in press, &c.

The Committee on nominations made a report which was accepted, and the following officers were chosen :—

President.—ARTHUR TAPPAN, New York.

Vice-Presidents.—F. JULIUS LE MOYNE, and WILLIAM JAY.

Corresponding Secretary.—LEWIS TAPPAN.

Recording Secretary.—C. B. RAY.

Treasurer.—WILLIAM E. WHITING.

Executive Committee.—ARTHUR TAPPAN, S. S. JOCELYN, WILLIAM JAY, LEWIS TAPPAN, WILLIAM JOHNSTON, WILLIAM E. WHITING, JOSHUA LEAVITT, LUTHER LEE, S. E. CORNISH, S. W. BENEDICT, CHRISTOPHER RUSH, ARNOLD BUFFUM, GEORGE WHIPPLE, WILLIAM LILLIE, J. WARNER, CHARLES B. RAY, THOMAS RITTER, J. W. C. PENNINGTON, A. F. WILLIAMS, ALEXANDER MACDONALD, HIRAM P. CROZIER, SAMUEL LEEDS.

Corresponding Members.—Joseph Sturge, George Wm. Alexander, Samuel Bowly, John Scoble, and Thomas Harvey, Esqrs.; Rev. James Carlile, D.D., and Rev. J. Howard Hinton, of England; Professor Ackersdyke, Utrecht, Holland; Dr. Carove, Frankfort, Germany; M. Isambert, Paris; M. L'Instant, Hayti; W. W. Anderson, Esq., Jamaica; Rev. John Galloway, New Brunswick; J. H. Collins, Esq., Illinois; Hon. S. C. Stevens, Indiana; Hon. S. P. Chase, Ohio; Professor C. D. Cleveland, Pennsylvania; Gerrit Smith and William Goodell, New York; Rev. G. W. Perkins, Connecticut; and John G. Whittier, Massachusetts.

Adjourned, to meet at the same place, at 9 o'clock, A.M., May 8th.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment.

Prayer was offered by Professor Whipple.

Mr. Lewis offered a resolution to this effect: that the Executive Committee be requested to consider the propriety of calling a National Convention of all who concur in the Anti-Slavery principles of the Buffalo platform.

This resolution was debated at considerable length. The following is a condensed report of the speeches:—

Mr. CROZIER said that he was in favor of a National Anti-Slavery Convention, but he wanted it an open Convention—an Anti-Slavery Mass Meeting—a meeting for all Anti-Slavery men to attend. We cannot settle principles of political action beforehand, nor is it desirable we should. Let the Convention determine what shall be done, and pass resolutions that have been thoroughly discussed. He could not be content with the Buffalo platform.

Mr. WARD, of Syracuse, N. Y., said he agreed with the previous speaker. We must unite the Anti-Slavery strength of the nation. The black man was overlooked at Buffalo. The Federal Constitution knows nothing about Slavery. It can't be legalized. The Constitution can't do it. He goes with Gerrit Smith in this. The Bible is the rule of faith and *practice*.

Mr. GREEN, of Troy, N. Y., hoped, that if a Convention shall be called, it would not be restricted to the Buffalo platform.

Dr. BAILEY, of Washington City, remarked that his paper, the *National Era*, was the first to suggest the expediency of a National Convention. It was suggested when it was thought the Nashville Convention would be held, and he wanted it as a counterpart to that semblage. He was for letting members of Congress know that ~~ere~~ there is a power to punish treason. But the Nashville Convention

will not probably be held, or if held, will prove a small affair. The newspaper responses to the suggestion of the *Era* evince, that in the opinion of the Anti-Slavery party the Liberty party has had its mission. We need no political platform. The proposal would lead to endless discussion. You cannot organize Anti-Slavery men now in the policy and principles of a political party. This is the opinion also of our friends in Congress. But it is in the power of this Society to do much by wholesome agitation. If you ever have a Convention for wholesome excitement it will do good. The 13th of July will be the anniversary of the day when the Ordinance of 1787 was passed.

That day might serve as an occasion for a mass meeting. A Convention should not be called to establish a creed—to form a party—but to give utterance to anti-slavery feeling. Last year the Convention, called at Cleveland, failed chiefly on account of the Cholera. Let the Executive Committee call a meeting of anti-slavery men, of all descriptions, to give utterance to their views and feelings.

Mr. S. LEWIS said, in the discussion yesterday the reviving of the old Liberty Party did not seem agreeable to a majority of the meeting. He should not hold himself bound to vote for the resolution proposed by himself to-day. He offered it as a basis of discussion. He went for the largest platform possible, but he would rather go for a Convention without any tests.

Mr. A. BUFFUM observed that he wanted the coöperation of all who will labor to put down Slavery, and the aristocracy of the South.

Mr. WALDO was surprised to hear it doubted whether the Liberty Party exists. It is yet alive.

Mr. W. H. BURLEIGH said, we all want a concentrated movement against the slave power. He sympathized with all who work against slavery. He does not agree with the *theory* advanced by some, of a righteous government, although he believes in a righteous civil government. He likes the Buffalo platform. Thinks the Buffalo Convention pushed the cause forward greatly. Will gladly coöperate with any who move in that direction.

Mr. S. S. JOCELYN read the last Buffalo platform. He cannot indorse it. Can never agree to the concessions made in it. There are radical differences of opinion between Abolitionists as to the Constitution of the United States, but he will go with those who support the Buffalo platform so far as they are in accordance with truth and the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. GEORGE WHIPPLE proposed a modification of the resolution, so that it shall read as follows :

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to take such measures as they deem best for calling a National Convention of those who believe in the necessity and duty of political action to prevent the extension and secure the overthrow of slavery, at such time

and place as they think will best suit the convenience of the friends of liberty in all the States.

Judge JAY remarked that the true way to insure a hearty coöperation in the cause was to exclude everything that did not belong to the anti-slavery cause. Our minds are so constituted that we cannot see alike on all subjects. He would sooner go to the stake than vote for dogmas in which he did not believe. He would not say that every proposition he did not concur in was wrong, but he would have nothing to do with anything, as an abolitionist, that was not necessarily connected with the enterprise. He took pleasure in avowing himself to be an abolitionist, and in saying that he should be happy to coöperate with any who will go for the abolition of slavery, and the equal elevation of the colored man. But he will not do what he thinks is wrong even to better the condition of the slave. So far he has done all he could in the sight of God for the cause since he became an abolitionist, which was as soon as he understood their principles. He cannot go for all the reforms some would connect with the anti-slavery cause. Some say they will not coöperate with those who materially differ from them. For himself he is willing to coöperate with any person who will labor to promote the emancipation of the slaves. Think we could have a good Convention provided gentlemen did not come to talk of other matters. It is a good time for such a Convention. He is in favor of the resolution as amended.

Mr. R. G. WILLIAMS of this city stated that the signs of the times in church and state required a National Convention of the friends of freedom at an early date; 1. to approve the doings of those members of Congress who have acted for Freedom; and 2. to express disapprobation of what the pro-slavery members have done for Slavery. He approved the Buffalo platform, though he would have preferred Mr. Hale to Mr. Van Buren. He regretted the defection of some who at first stood upon the platform. He thought this Society would find enough to do in attending to the moral part of the enterprise, and that if a Convention should be called it had better not be done by this Society.

Mr. MYERS is in favor of the Buffalo platform, the principles of which he explained.

Mr. GARDNER of New Jersey did not see what that platform had to do with the resolution under discussion. He is in favor of the resolution.

Mr. W. F. CLARK of Pennsylvania was in favor of calling a Convention of those who are against Slavery, and in favor of the National Government being divorced from it. But this Society ought not to call such a Convention, as the moral part is all it should attend to. Individuals at large should sign the Call.

Mr. A. F. WILLIAMS of Connecticut inquired, shall we have a Convention or not? He thought we had better have one, and he could see no impropriety in its being called by this Society.

Judge JAY suggested that the matter be left to the Executive Com-

mittee to decide who shall call the Convention, with authority to issue a Call should they deem it best.

Mr. LEWIS of Ohio said he was in favor of the amendment to his resolution, and he hoped it would be left to the Executive Committee to act in the premises as they thought best. Though an abolitionist, he would cooperate with all who oppose slavery. Whoever proposes a Convention let us follow up their suggestion. Each division of the anti-slavery army is doing its work.

The resolution, as amended, was passed unanimously.

Mr. JOCELYN submitted the following :

Resolved, That in our several localities we will, by personal efforts, enlist the friends of Liberty in sustaining with funds the Executive Committee in carrying out efficiently its plans.

Mr. R. G. WILLIAMS heartily approved the resolution. There has never been a time when more good could be done with anti-slavery publications than now. He wished the Executive Committee had at their command twenty thousand dollars.

Mr. L. TAPPAN spoke of the large quantities of publications that had been recently circulated by the Committee; of the immense good that might be effected by a judicious and liberal diffusion of them at the present time, especially in the territory lately annexed to this country; and made an urgent appeal to the friends of the cause, who had the means, to contribute freely and cheerfully to enable the Committee to carry on their operations on a large scale.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. W. F. CLARK moved :—

That it be recommended to the Executive Committee to appoint agents in the different States to collect funds to enable them to send publications and agents into the new Territories.

Mr. LEWIS spoke of the great importance of sending agents and publications to Western Texas, New Mexico, and Utah. He thought it a matter of the first importance, and one that should interest deeply all the friends of the slave throughout the country. He thought the friends of Freedom in his place and vicinity would raise money enough to sustain one agent.

Mr. WILLIAM BEARD of Indiana made a few remarks in favor of the resolution.

It was adopted unanimously.

The Chairman addressed the meeting, congratulating the members of the Society on the progress of the cause, and exhorting them to perseverance.

Prayer was offered by Rev. H. H. KELLOGG, when the meeting was adjourned.

APPENDIX.

LETTER FROM JOHN JAY.

BEDFORD, WESTCHESTER CO., N. Y. }
Nov. 17, 1819. }

DEAR SIR—I have received the copy of a circular letter, which, as chairman of the Committee appointed by the late public meeting at Trenton, respecting slavery, you was pleased to direct to me on the 5th instant.

Little can be added to what has been said and written on the subject of slavery. I concur in the opinion that it ought not to be introduced nor permitted in any of the new States, and that it ought to be gradually diminished and finally abolished in all of them.

To me, the constitutional authority of the Congress to prohibit the migration and importation of slaves into any of the States, does not appear questionable.

The *First* article of the Constitution specifies the legislative powers committed to the Congress. The 9th section of that article has these words: "The *migration* or *importation* of such persons as any of the NOW EXISTING States shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

I understand the sense and meaning of this clause to be, that the power of the Congress, although competent to prohibit such migration and importation, was to be exercised with respect to the THEN existing States (and them only) until the year 1808, but the Congress were at liberty to make such prohibitions as to any *new* State which might in the *mean* time be established. And, further, that from and after *that* period, they were authorized to make such prohibition as to *all* the States, whether *new* or *old*.

It will, I presume, be admitted, that slaves were the persons intended. The word slaves was avoided, probably on account of the existing toleration of slavery, and its discordancy with the principles of the Revolution, and from a consciousness of its being repugnant to the following positions in the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that ALL men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; hat among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

As to my taking an *active* part in "organizing a plan of coöpera-

tion," the state of my health has long been such as not to admit of it.

Be pleased to assure the Committee of my best wishes for their success, and permit me to assure you of the esteem and regard with which I am, dear sir, your faithful and obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

The Honorable ELIAS BOUDINOT.

THE FATHERS OF THE REPUBLIC.

A WRITER in the New-Jersey Medical Reporter, Dr. Marsh, of Paterson, in a memoir of Dr. Moses Bloomfield, an eminent physician of New Jersey, who lived about the time of the Revolutionary War, who was father of the late Governor Bloomfield, of that State, tells the following anecdote :

" Warm from the revolutionary struggle, and grateful for the civil freedom he had gained, he would have the greater boon of personal liberty extended to the weaker and more unhappy African race. Unlearned in the logic of that school, (indeed that school had not yet come into existence,) which teaches that slavery is the firmest and truest support of liberty, the mother of high civilization, and the nurse of all generous arts and heroic deeds, *he* would have all men free. Forever foreign to his mind and heart would have been the cold reasonings of a political philosophy, and the cravings of a sordid interest, which doom to hopeless and perpetual bondage any of God's rational creatures. Not so did he read the Declaration of Independence, and that much greater work, the Book of Life. Accordingly, after the termination of the war, he made all haste to emancipate his slaves. It took place on the 4th of July, 1783, the first anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence after the war, at a public meeting which has been called the first anti-slavery meeting ever held in the United States.

" The public meeting took place in the township of Woodbridge. Great preparations had been made ; an ox was roasted, and large numbers assembled to partake of it, and to listen to the orator of the day, Dr. Bloomfield, father of the late Gov. Bloomfield, of New Jersey. At the appointed time the orator mounted the platform, followed by all his slaves, fourteen in number, seven of whom took places on his left and seven on his right, while he addressed the multitude on the evils of Slavery. At the close of his speech, he turned to his slaves, stating, that inasmuch as we, as a nation, had declared all men equal, he could not, consistently, hold slaves. Why, he asked, should these my fellow-citizens be held in bondage ? From this day they are free.

" In the midst of the applause which followed, the Doctor called up to him one somewhat advanced in years. ' Hector,' said he, ' when you cannot support yourself, you are entitled to a maintenance from my property. When do you suppose you will need that maintenance ?'

"The delighted negro held up his left hand, and with his right drew a line across the middle joint of his fingers: 'Neber, massa, neber, so long as any of dese fingers are left above dese joints.'

"*'There, fellow-citizens,'* said the Doctor, 'you see that liberty is as dear to the man of color as to you or me.'"

"The sentiments and example of the father were not without their influence on his son; he was a strenuous advocate for the abolition of Slavery, and the first act for its gradual abolition was passed in 1804, while he was Governor of the State."

EXTRACT FROM J. Q. ADAMS' DIARY.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ON SLAVERY.—We make the following extract from a passage in the Diary of John Quincy Adams, recently published, by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, in the New York Evening Post.

"It is among the evils of Slavery, that it taints the very sources of moral principle. It establishes false estimates of virtue and vice; for what can be more false and heartless than this doctrine, which makes the first and holiest rights of humanity to depend upon the color of the skin? It perverts human reason, and induces men endowed with logical powers to maintain that Slavery is sanctioned by the Christian religion; that slaves are happy and contented in their condition; that between master and slave there are ties of mutual attachment and affection; that the virtues of the master are refined and exalted by the degradation of the slave, while at the same time they vent execrations upon the slave-trade, curse Britain for having given them slaves, burn at the stake negroes convicted of crimes, for the terror of the example, and writhe in agonies of fear at the very mention of human rights as applicable to men of color. The impression produced upon my mind by the progress of this discussion is, that the bargain between Freedom and Slavery, contained in the Constitution of the United States, is morally and politically vicious, inconsistent with the principles upon which alone our revolution can be justified; cruel and oppressive, by riveting the chains of Slavery, by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master; and grossly unequal and impolitic, by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured or restored to their owners, and persons not to be represented themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a double share of representation. The consequence has been that this slave representation has governed the Union. Benjamin, portioned above his brethren, has ravened as a wolf; in the morning he has devoured the prey, and at night he has divided the spoil. It would be no difficult matter to prove, by reviewing the history of the Union under this Constitution, that almost everything which has contributed to the honor and welfare of the nation has been accom-

plished in despite of them or forced upon them, and that everything unpropitious and dishonorable, including the blunders and follies of their adversaries, may be traced to them."

FREE SOIL PLATFORM.

I. OF POLICY IN REGARD TO SLAVERY.

1. Congress has no power to institute or establish slavery—no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution, or derived by any just implication from them.

2. Slavery in the several States of the Union which recognize its existence, depends upon State laws alone; and therefore it is not proposed to interfere with it within the limits of said States.

3. But the government must return to the policy of 1787, when it was the fixed determination of the nation, to limit, localize, and discourage slavery.

4. It is the duty of the government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery, wherever that government has constitutional power to legislate on the subject, and is consequently responsible for its existence.

5. No more slave States, no slave territory.

6. The only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an act of Congress.

7. No more compromises with slavery; if made they must be repealed.

II. OF ECONOMICAL POLICY.

8. Retrenchment of the expense and patronage of the federal government, and the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries.

9. Election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the government as far as practicable.

10. Cheap postage.

11. It is the duty of Congress in the exercise of its constitutional power, to provide for River and Harbor Improvements, whenever demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations or among the several States.

12. The free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses incurred in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, of a reasonable portion of the public lands, under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure, which will promote, in various ways, the interests of all the States in the Union.

13. The national debt should be paid at the earliest practicable moment; and such a tariff of duties laid as will raise a revenue sufficient to defray the expenses of the national government, and pay annual installments of the debt and interest thereon.

FREE SOIL, FREE SPEECH, FREE LABOR AND FREE MEN.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE facts contained in the following extract from a letter written by an influential and reliable member of the Society of Friends, in this country, in reply to a request for information, was not received in time to be incorporated into the Annual Report. Among the earliest and most devoted friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, both in England and the United States, as is well known, have been members of the Society of Friends. There are such now. But this denomination of Christians, like others, suffers the reproach of sustaining Slavery by its lukewarmness, inconsistency, and neglect of discipline. But our correspondent shall speak for himself :

"In respect to 'any decided action against slaveholding on the part of the Society of Friends in this country since last May,' I am sorry to say, there has been little to which I can refer thee. Indiana Yearly Meeting, I believe, sent a memorial to Congress, against the extension of Slavery into the Territories of the United States. I do not now recollect any other action by any of our Yearly Meetings, or Meetings for Sufferings, that may be called anti-slavery action, during the past year. Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings has had a committee appointed rather more than two years, to investigate the condition and extent of the Foreign and Domestic Slave-Trade. I cannot learn that this committee has given any attention to the latter, and the importation, a few months since, of thirty-two immense volumes of Parliamentary Reports, is all that has been done relative to the former. There is little reason to expect that such a committee could at any time procure much original information on the foreign slave-trade, and after the late investigations by the British Parliament, nothing of importance will be likely to be ferreted out. The simple fact that the Meeting for Sufferings has a committee appointed on the subject of Slavery, or the Slave-Trade, is quite sufficient to put the members of the Yearly Meeting generally at ease—with the very comfortable persuasion that they are relieved from individual action and responsibility in the matter, by the attention of their representatives.

"If the British, French, and American Governments were ignorant or unmindful of the continued prosecution and vast extent of the foreign slave-trade, it would be highly obligatory upon *Friends* and all Abolitionists to collect the evidences of these facts, and press them upon the attention of those governments—but we know that scarcely any measure has received a greater share of the serious consideration of the British Government for several years past, and that both the French and American rulers have kept it in view.

"If the committee of the Meeting for Sufferings would enter into a thorough examination of the internal slave-trade in all its ramifications, and proclaim the result to the American people, inducing them to withhold their own support from the system, and to demand of their representatives in Congress the prohibition of the vile traffic, it would be a noble work; but this might cause *excitement* amongst the Southern people, and *agitation* and *unsanctified zeal* in the North! It would also bring the responsibility *close home*, and lead to some unpleasant reflections upon the intimate connection existing between the Slaveholders and the purchasers of the fruits of Slavery.

"Thou wilt readily perceive that I look upon the Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends as failing in a remarkable degree, to perform the

duties required by their high profession in relation to Slavery. I do not believe that any class of people in the United States has yielded more than *Friends*—taken as a body—to the deadening influence of their political and commercial connections with Slavery. Individual members throughout the Society feel a deep interest in the question of abolition, and although with some exceptions, the influence of the various Meetings of the Society is directly opposed to all Anti-Slavery action, on the part of its members, not under the immediate direction of the Society, yet the feeling of individual responsibility cannot in all cases be restrained, but is manifesting itself in various ways.”

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE *London Times* shows, by the following statement, that the blockading squadron on the coast of Africa is merely one of the many pretexts resorted to by the Government there for quartering the younger sons and brothers of the nobility upon the public :

“Our blockading squadron has done literally nothing toward its professed objects. So far from its having suppressed the traffic, or promised to suppress it, it was concluded by the committee of Inquiry that, although the squadron was in the very highest state of efficiency and discipline, the trade was ‘now conducted with an amount of organization, and with a degree of confidence in the success of its adventures, such as have never before been opposed to the efforts of the nations engaged in suppressing it.’ The number of captures matters very little in such a state of things as this. As a mere question of fact, it has been placed beyond doubt, that our cruisers do not prevent, nor even materially impede, the exportation of slaves from Africa, nor their importation into Brazil. On the contrary it has been concurrently stated by the Commodore and one of the most intelligent Captains of the squadron, that its presence did actually tend to the consolidation and settlement of the traffic *by confining it to houses of large capital and extraordinary resources*. We subjoin the following statement taken from the Foreign Office reports and Mr. Bandinel’s abstract :

No. of Slaves No. capt'd exported. by cruisers.			No. of Slaves No. capt'd exported. by cruisers.		
1840.....	64,114	3,616	1844.....	54,102	4,577
1841.....	45,097	5,966	1845.....	36,758	3,519
1842.....	28,400	3,950	1846.....	76,107	2,788
1843.....	55,062	2,797	1847.....	84,356	3,967

“Judging from such information as we can obtain, we think the number of slaves exported from the coast in 1848 cannot have fallen far short of 100,000, of which between 6,000 and 7,000 must have been captured, as we collect, by Sir Charles Hotham’s squadron. His own evidence gave nearly 30 per cent. as the proportion of captures, speaking of captured vessels only ; but if this is the case, the captures must have been confined to very small or very lightly laden vessels, for the proportion has seldom, it will be seen, reached even as high as 10 per cent.

“If any conclusive confirmation were wanted of the truth that the fluctuations of the slave-trade depended solely on the demand for

slave produce in the markets of Europe, it would be found in a table which exhibits a comparative view of the extent of the trade at different periods, and of the prices at such periods of ordinary Havana sugar :

	Average price of Sugar per cwt.	Rise or fall.	Increase or decrease in Slave Trade.
1825 to 1830.....	34s 6d	9 per cent rise	21 per cent increase
1830 to 1835.....	24 8	29 per cent fall	37 per cent decrease
1835 to 1840.....	29 3	19 per cent rise	73 per cent increase
1840	25 4	13 per cent fall	53 per cent decrease
1841 to 1844.....	21 1	17 per cent fall	29 per cent decrease
1845 to 1847.....	25 7	18 per cent rise	44 per cent increase

Very little doubt can exist as to the commercial character of the whole proceeding. The numbers would doubtless have differed had our squadron not been there, but the proportions would have remained the same, and may well set at rest any inquiry as to the causes producing the increase of the slave-trade at one time and its diminution at another.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

	In the Colonies in 1776.	In the U. States in 1790.	In the U. States in 1840.
New Hampshire,	629	158	1
Massachusetts,	3,500	0	0
Rhode Island,	4,370	952	5
Connecticut,	5,000	2,759	17
New York,	15,000	21,324	4
New Jersey,	7,600	11,423	674
Pennsylvania,	10,000	3,737	64
Delaware,	9,000	8,887	2,505
Maryland,	80,000	103,036	89,737
Virginia,	165,000	203,427	448,987
North Carolina,	76,000	100,572	245,817
South Carolina,	110,000	107,094	327,038
Georgia,	16,000	29,264	280,944
Maine,	..	0	0
District of Columbia,	..	..	4,694
Vermont,	..	17	0
Tennessee,	..	3,417	183,059
Kentucky,	..	11,830	182,258
Alabama,	..	..	253,532
Mississippi,	..	..	195,211
Louisiana,	..	..	168,452
Arkansas,	..	..	19,935
Ohio,	..	..	3
Michigan,	..	..	0
Indiana,	..	..	3
Illinois,	..	..	331
Missouri,	..	..	58,240
Florida,	..	..	25,717
Wisconsin,	..	..	11
Iowa,	..	..	16
	502,099	607,897	2,487,355

LIBERTY CREED.

We believe—

That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their CREATOR with certain *inalienable* rights, among which are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness:

That every laborer is entitled to fair wages for honest work:

That Slavery, which denies wages and annihilates manhood, is so odious that nothing can uphold it except positive law; and that all such law violates inalienable rights, and ought to be immediately repealed:

That the policy of the American Government, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, was not to extend and nationalize slavery:

That the Constitution confers on Congress *no power to establish or uphold slavery anywhere*; but on the contrary, EXPRESSLY PROHIBITS the General Government, from *depriving any man of liberty except by due process of law*:

That whenever the United States have acquired, by the cession of particular States or foreign nations, any territory in which slavery existed, that the jurisdiction of the ceding State or nation ceased at the moment of cession; and that slavery, being consequently deprived of the support of positive law, ceased also, and could not be re-established or continued without a manifest violation of the Constitution:

That Slavery in the District of Columbia, and in all places under exclusive national jurisdiction, and in all States created out of any territory of the United States, is unconstitutional:

That the clause in the Constitution under which the Slaveholders of the original States claimed a representative in Congress for three-fifths of their slaves, is wholly undemocratic, and extremely dangerous to the interests of the people:

That Slaveholders have substantially controlled the Government almost from the beginning, and ought to control it no longer; and that their political power has increased, is increasing, and ought to be destroyed:

That Slaveholders have filled, and now fill the greatest part of the offices of the Government, and nearly all the rest are filled by such northern men as are willing to sustain slavery; and that the powers of the Legislature, the Executive and Judiciary, have all been prostituted to the support and perpetuation of slavery:

That the officers of the Government ought to be filled by men known as TRUE FRIENDS OF EQUAL AND IMPARTIAL JUSTICE to all men: and that the policy of our Government should be directed to the establishment of Liberty, to protecting and extending markets for free labor, and to discountenancing every form of oppression:

That in each State all unjust and oppressive enactments should be repealed; that men who cannot be seduced or driven from the bold advocacy of freedom and free labor, should be placed in the United States Senate; that no lawless ruffians should be permitted to kidnap

our citizens with impunity ; and that our laws should be administered by an Executive and Judiciary, for the protection and defense of the liberties of all, without respect of persons.

That all acts of Congress for the maintainance of slavery in the District of Columbia and all laws for the special encouragement of slaveholders, and especially that despotic and cruel, and unconstitutional law of 1793, known as the act relating to fugitives from service, which converts the free States into a grand range for slave hunters, and makes humanity a crime, ought to be repealed by Congress ; that the coastwise and inter-state slave-trade ought to be prohibited, and that resolutions declaring slavery unconstitutional in all new States created of territories, and recommending to the Legislatures of the original States the abolition of slavery within their respective limites, ought to be adopted :

That the Judiciary of the United States should cease to be the creature of the slave power ; when, it may be expected, slavery will be judicially declared to be unconstitutional in the District and the States created out of territories.

That the extinction of Slavery by the Constitutional action of Congress and the State Legislatures is absolutely essential to the preservation of the Union ; to the security of popular rights ; and to the restoration of harmony and prosperity to the country.

That Liberty principles are just as capable of being applied to other questions of general interest as to the question of slavery ; and will be so applied in due time, purging out of our policy, whether in relation to trade or currency, or any other matter, whatever in it is inconsistent with equal and exact justice to all men.

ILLINOIS (January 24, 1849.)*

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use all honorable means in their power to procure the enactment of such laws by Congress for the Government of the countries and territories of the United States acquired by the treaty of peace, friendship, limits, and settlement with the republic of Mexico, concluded February 2, A.D. 1848, as shall contain the express declaration "that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territories, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

THE ALLEGHANY INSTITUTE, ALLEGHANY CITY, PA.

THIS Institution, situated opposite Pittsburgh, Pa., was founded and chartered for the purpose of affording to colored youth, of both

* This resolution of the legislature of Illinois embraces all that the State has passed on the subject. It was not at hand to insert in the Annual Report, in its proper place, page 93.

sexes, the opportunity of acquiring any or all of the branches of both an English and Collegiate education. A large and commodious building, designed for its use, is just completed. The opening term will commence on the 15th day of April next, and will continue fifteen weeks. Afterward, until further notice, the regular divisions of the Academical year of the Institute will be as follows :

The First Term will begin on the second Monday in September, and continue fifteen weeks.

The Second Term will begin on the first Monday in January, and continue thirteen weeks.


The Third Term will begin on the first Monday in May, and continue twelve weeks.

The Tuition is fixed, for the present, at the following rates, PAYABLE IN ADVANCE :

For Orthography, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, and English Grammar, *three dollars* per term.

For Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Physiology, &c., *four dollars* per term.

For the Classics, and higher Mathematics, *five dollars* per term.

 Board can be obtained at reasonable rates, in families adjacent to the Institute.

The Alleghany Institute is, by its charter, a College ; invested with the power of conferring degrees, and with all other powers and privileges common to the colleges of this country. It is ready to go into operation as such, whenever students shall be furnished to the Collegiate Department. This institution is not connected with, or under the supervision of any *one* religious sect or denomination ; but its charter provides that the Trustees, President, Professors, and Teachers, shall be professors of Christianity. Its teachers will not inculcate sectarian peculiarities, but will labor to secure a high moral and religious influence, in connection with the development of the intellect. The Teachers of this school will assume a parental guardianship over those pupils that may be sent to it from abroad. Great pains will be taken to prevent them from contracting evil habits and mingling with corrupt associates. Each sex will have schools by itself ; and care will be exercised to maintain, in both sexes, strict propriety of deportment.

In conclusion, we ask parents and guardians not to neglect the opportunity, now put into their hands, of giving to the youth in their charge the inestimable blessings of a good education. We trust that this is the beginning of better and brighter days to that large portion of our population which has hitherto been debarred, by unrighteous prejudice, from the privileges which others have enjoyed.

For further particulars, direct your inquiries, post paid, to JOHN PECK, Pittsburgh, Pa.

CHARLES AVERY,
JOSEPH P. GAZZAM,
WM. M. SHINN,
SAMUEL JOHNSTON,

DAVID STEVENS,
SPENCER WATTS,
EDWARD R. PARKER,
JOHN PECK,

MORRISON M. CLARKE,

Trustees.

ALLEGHANY, *March 14th*, 1850.

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